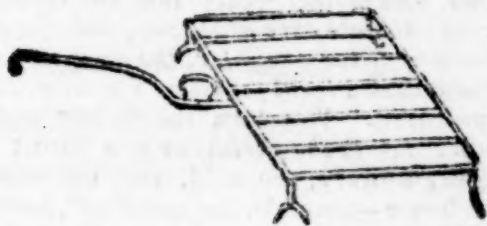


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TO MR. O'CONNELL,

On his Speech against the Proposition for establishing Poor Laws in Ireland.

*At Mr. Johnson's, Lime Place, Manchester,
14th January, 1832.*

SIR,

WITH very great surprise (to give the mildest term to my feeling on the occasion) I have read, in the MORNING CHRONICLE of the 7th instant, a publication purporting to be the report of a *speech* made by you at a meeting of the NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION, held in Dublin on the 4th of this same month. The speech is stated to have been made in consequence of a motion by Mr. JOHN REYNOLDS, for the appointment of a committee to deliberate on the subject of POOR LAWS FOR IRELAND. Having long been convinced that the withholding from Ireland of these laws, at the time when they were given to England, was the *original sin* in the misrule of Ireland, and that it has been the greatest of all the causes of the immeasurable distance between the manners, the habits, and the condition, of the working classes of the two countries; having seen that that *Catholic Emancipation*, which was, according to your expectations, so frequently, so eloquently, and so confidently expressed, to restore harmony and happiness to Ireland, has been far indeed from producing any such effects; being more fully than ever convinced that there never can be peace in Ireland, and that there never can be any security, or chance of security, against those periodical returns of starvation in Ireland, the bare thought of which ought to make an

English, and more especially an *Irish* legislator ashamed to show his face amongst mortals of common humanity; remembering that Mr. GRATTAN, that Dr. DOYLE, and that YOU YOURSELF, have been the advocates of this remedy for the sufferings of your unhappy country, you, I am sure, will not wonder that, in reading the report of the speech to which I have alluded, my feeling was such as to be very inadequately described by the word *surprise*; but you would wonder, I trust, and I am sure that my readers would wonder, if I were not to give an *answer to that speech*. This I shall now do with all that respect towards you which is due to you on account of your laudable and able exertions during the two last sessions of Parliament; and, in order that the public may have the arguments and facts of both sides of the question fairly before them, I will first insert the above-mentioned report of your speech:

MR. O'CONNELL rose amid loud cheers. I rise, he said, to second the motion for a Committee. With many of the principles laid down by Mr. Reynolds I entirely concur. I believe he has exaggerated the wealth of the Established Church—but then it is enormously great, and almost defies exaggeration. The claim which the poor have upon that wealth is obvious. One-third of it originally belonged to the poor, and they have been *filching* from the poor by having kept from them that one-third. (Hear.) I concur also with Mr. Reynolds in what he has said of the generosity of the English people. (Hear.) Their generosity towards this country in money gifts has been most laudable, and I only wish that they had equally distinguished themselves for their *political charity*. (Hear.) We have got from *them* three or four hundred thousand pounds for our beggars, and they have been three or four centuries *making beggars of us*. Jack-the-Giant-Killer was distinguished for making giants first and then slaying them; it is thus the English have acted towards the Irish—they have made beggars of them first, and then relieved them. (Hear, hear, hear.) Though I concur in the expression of my gratitude to those who have subscribed to the relief of the Irish poor, so must I also give expression to my abhorrence of those who have *made a rich country poor*, and have *placed* a starving population in the midst of abundance. (Hear, and cheers.)

Though I am most ready to second the motion for a Committee upon this subject, I cannot but *start back with horror* at the proposal of *poor-laws being introduced into Ireland*. I know that a great case is made for them in the misery of the people, and I *was myself even ready to plunge into the Curtian gulf*, where eventually we might be swallowed up, in the hope that we could for the time be able to relieve the distresses of the poor. I have thought upon this subject *by day*—I have *mused upon it by night*—it has been the *last thought that visited my pillow* before I closed my eyes to sleep—and it has been the *benefit of my morning meditations*; and the result to which I have come is this, that it would be *impossible* to introduce the poor-laws here without *enslaving and degrading the poor*. The poor themselves, I think, would suffer most from a poor-law. When people talk of an amelioration of the English system, I ask of them to point it out, for I never yet met a man who was able to discover it. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I abhor any *interference with the rate of wages*, especially in an agricultural country, and this is one of those things which frighten me about the introduction of the poor-laws here. What kind of poor-law is it that is wanting? If it be one for the support of *the sick and the maimed*, I go to the full extent with those who support such a poor-law. I say that the state is bound to make provision for those who are afflicted with *sickness or disease*; but there it is our duty to *stop*. There is no danger of encouraging sickness to enable a man to get into an infirmary, nor will any man break his leg in order that he may have a claim upon the charity of his neighbour. Let me be understood—a claim arising from *disease, sickness, or casualty*, should be provided for by *the state*, and to that extent I go with those who are advocates for poor-laws. One-third of that which is now in the hands of the clergy, being given to its legal destination, would be fully sufficient to defray all such demands upon charity. (Hear.) Even at present there is *scarcely a village in Ireland* that has not a *dispensary*, nor any county town without its *hospital*, and if these be not sufficient, the *legislature* is bound to make provision for them. (Hear.) Go beyond that, and what do you do? Are you to take care of *the aged*? Do you not, by doing so, remove from the individual the *necessity of providing for old age*—do you not encourage him to go to the dram-shop, and lay out his sixpence upon his animal gratification, rather than of *hoarding for the day of want*? Do you not take from *industry its incentive*, and from providence its best guard? (Hear.) If I were, as my enemies represent me to be, one who was looking solely to popularity, and not to serve my country, what more fitting theme could I select than that of the poor laws? What more popular topic could I possibly adopt? (Hear.) I feel, however, that it is the duty of a humane and a conscientious man to express candidly his opinion upon a topic so deeply interesting

and important to his fellow-countrymen. (Hear.) I say, that if you make a provision *for old age*, you take away the great stimulant to industry and economy in youth. You do another thing—what is to become of the *aged father and mother*—they lose the solace and the *affectionate care of the son*, and the *tender attentions of the daughter*, the moment you say to them that a *legal provision* for their support is procured. You *turn the father and the mother out to the parish*, or you thrust them into the solitary, the cold, and the wretched poor-house—there, in the *naked cell*, sufficient to *chill the human breast*, you leave the expiring victims of *your mistaken humanity*. (Hear, hear.) But think not that you have a *compulsory provision for the aged alone*; if you go thus far, you are bound also to provide for the *hardy workman*, who cannot procure labour, and *who must not be left to starve*. The man with a good appetite and willing hands, but who has no work, you must include him also. It was not *at first intended*, I believe, to include this class amongst those to be provided for by the poor-laws; but it was found that they could not be included, and the moment that principle is adopted, the rich parish would be obliged to provide for all the poor who might claim relief from it, and in a short time *that parish would be swamped* with the number of claimants upon it. You cannot say to the city of Dublin that it should have a mendicancy one-fourth the size of the metropolis—that every man who sought relief there should obtain it, and the citizens be obliged to pay the expense of supporting them. And yet, how are you to *discriminate*, unless you make a *law of settlement*, one great instrument of oppression against the English poor. One of the means of settlement in England is by birth; there is none less likely to be subject to imposition, and yet none is made a greater instrument of oppression. The moment that it appears a *poor woman* is in a state of pregnancy, she is immediately made an object for *persecution*, and a notice to quit is served by the *landlord* on the wretched hovel that the prolific mother inhabits. The landlord, in fact, is *compelled by the vestry* to be guilty of this persecution. Another means of settlement in a parish is by living there for one year; and the consequence is, that engagements are made with labourers for only *eleven months*, and they are *obliged to be one month idle* before they can expect a renewal of work in the same parish. Another bad consequence of that law is, that it prevents the *circulation of free labour*, and obliges *every man to stick to his parish*. The poor-laws, too, take from a man a *direct interest in being industrious*. The motives to labour are present subsistence and future support. Take these two away, and you deprive a man of two great stimulants to labour. (Hear.) Besides, the poor-laws compel those dependent upon them for support to work—but in what manner? The labourers are *let out by the parish at half wages*, and then these half-workmen come in competition with the

regular labourers. The farmer will tell the regular labourer, who demands three shillings a day, that he will give him but two shillings; for if he does not choose to take that, he will get those who he is ready to admit are inferior workmen for one shilling, and thus the good labourer is necessarily made poor. (Hear, hear.) Have I not seen, in Shrewsbury, for instance, placards on which were inscribed, "*Vagrants and Irish labourers whipped out of the town?*" Mr. Sturges Bourne made an *improvement in the law in this respect*, for he provided that after the Irish labourer was whipped, he should be sent home. (Hear.) These laws are necessarily called cruel laws, for they make charity itself the subject of taxation. They create in a man's mind something of the sensation that is felt upon paying the wide-street or grand jury cess. (Laughter.) They make, too, one man abundantly charitable, by putting his hand into the pockets of another—and to do what? to keep the poor at the lowest rate of maintenance. It is well known that in many parishes in England the poor are farmed out to be provided for at the lowest possible expense. The man who takes the care of them underfeeds them, in order that he may make a profit on them. Not only is the providing of food for them hired out, but apothecaries to supply them with medicines are hired also—*men whose interest it is that the sick poor should die as soon as possible*, in order that they may be at the less expense for medicines for them. (Hear.) For an obvious reason I do not enter into the horrors of this *demoralising system respecting females*; it is sufficient for me to say, that the more vicious a female is, the more objects has she to make her selection from, either to pay forty pounds, or to marry her. (Hear, hear.) It is sufficient to say of the system, that clergymen of the Established Church of England have sworn, that, amongst the poorer classes, out of every twenty women they married, *nineteen were in a state of pregnancy*. (Hear, hear.) What do we see as the consequence of the poor-laws in England? The country is in a blaze from north to south; the agricultural labourers there are destroying the property of their employers. (Hear.) I have now sat in three parliaments, and I have heard in each of these members state that these laws created a great deal of misery and distress. But then it may be said that these laws can be ameliorated. How will you ameliorate them? What part of the English poor-laws will you shut out? How will Mr. Reynolds improve these laws? All the *ingenuity of Committee after Committee* that has sat respecting these laws has been exercised in vain, and has been unable to discover any *effective amelioration*. (Hear, hear.) One feature of the poor-laws is, that it makes slaves of the poorer classes; it makes them the slaves of the overseers, and destroys completely their character for independence. I prefer the wild merriment of the Irishman to the half-sulky, half-miserable tones of the English slave to poor-laws. The Irishman

certainly has his distresses, but then he has his hopes; he endures much misery; but then he entertains expectations of redress. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Let the question of poor-laws stand over, till we see if justice will be done to us by England, upon the question of reform. I have often said, that if a just reform bill were given to Ireland, I would try the experiment with it; but if they do not give a just reform bill, then I shall want to introduce a poor-law for Ireland by repealing the Union. (Hear, and loud cheers.) Mr. O'Connell concluded by requesting that their exertions should not be interfered with by the poor-law question, in looking for a substantial plan of reform, and if that were refused, in seeking for a resource and a remedy for a bad reform bill. The hon. Gentleman sat down amid loud cheers.

Sir, I do not overlook the great cheering which this speech appears to have called forth from your Dublin audience; but when I recollect the still more noisy cheering drawn forth in another place by the DAWSONS and others, when they so unjustly, and in a manner so senseless, assailed you, I am by no means disheartened by this vast quantity of cheering; which I am disposed to ascribe, not to any folly, and still less to any perverseness, but rather to that "*wild merriment*," which, towards the close of your speech, you are pleased to describe as characteristic of your countrymen, and on which you appear to set so high a value.

Upon a careful perusal of this speech, I have no hesitation in saying, that the far greater part of your facts, as they stand here, are founded in error; and that the whole of your arguments are fallacious; and these assertions I think myself bound to prove; not by any general statement or reasoning; but, in the first place, point by point, as your facts and arguments lie before me. I might, if I chose to pursue that course, insist, that with regard to your opinions, they ought to be viewed in conjunction with, and estimated according to, the tried value of many of your former opinions. I might, if I chose that course, meet the imposing assurance, that you "have thought of this subject by day, have mused upon it by night, and have given it the benefit of your morning meditations;" I might, if I chose, and with perfect fairness, meet this formidable preamble by asking you,

whether you had not thought by day, mused by night, and meditated in the morning, on the *measure for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders*, before you became the very first man to suggest that measure to two Houses of Parliament, as being a measure necessary to the *fair representation of Ireland*; and whether, in less than twenty-four months from the date of the suggestion, you did not, before the face of these forty-shilling freeholders, *beg their pardon, and the pardon of Almighty God*, for having entertained a thought of their disfranchisement? Passing over the "*golden chain*," by which you proposed to bind the Catholic priests to the Protestant Government and *hierarchy*; passing over this and many other such errors, and confining myself within the forty-shilling freeholder, error, might I not if I chose, express a confident hope; nay, presume and almost conclude, that you are not less in error now, when you so boldly call ENGLISHMEN, in direct terms, and, by inference, the AMERICANS, the *slaves* of the poor-laws?

I might, with perfect fairness, do this, and perhaps to the entire satisfaction of the greater part of my readers; but I will evade nothing; will consider nothing coming from you as unworthy of serious notice; and will, therefore, agreeably to my promise, answer your speech point by point.

Deferring, till by-and-by, my notice of your charge against the Protestant hierarchy, of having "*filched*" from the poor of Ireland the amount of their third of the tithes, I begin with your charge against the "*English people*" of having "*made the Irish people poor*." We will cast aside your "*gratitude*" towards the former, as a fit companion for the *mutual good-will* between the two countries, which this charge of yours is so manifestly intended to inspire and keep alive; we will cast these aside; but, since you so positively assert that we, the many-headed Jack-the-Giant-Killer, have made your countrymen *poor*, we may surely be allowed the liberty to ask you to name the *time* when they *were rich*. When A is accused of having stolen the property of B, it is incumbent on B to prove that he

ever had the property. Yours being, as to this matter, bare allegation without proof of previous possession, we need not remind you, how you, being in such a case counsel for the accused, would scoff the accuser out of court. We will not scoff you out of court; we will give you further time for "*thought, musing, and meditation*;" and will even aid these cool and candid operations of your mind by suggestions of our own. You say that the "*English people*" have been *three or four centuries* engaged in the work of making the Irish people beggars. You doubtless use the words *English people* instead of *English Government*, not only from a love of *justice*, but from an amiable desire to promote the good-will and harmony between the English and the Irish. But, granted that it is the *English people*, what have they *done* to make the Irish people *poor*? *Three or four centuries*! "*An inch is a trifle in a man's nose*;" and with you orators *a century*, more or less, is not worth stopping about; it is a mere splitting of straws. These "*centuries*" could, however, hardly have fairly begun above *thirty-two years ago*; for then you had a "*domestic legislature*," and a right good one it was without doubt, for you *want it back again*! What, however, even going back to the conquest, have the English people *done* to make the Irish *poor*? *Conquered the country*, and parcelled out its lands amongst Englishmen. There! Take it in its fullest extent: and what have they done to the Irish, to a tenth part of the amount of *what the Normans did to them*? Yet they have survived it; they have overcome conquest by their industry and love of country: they soon made the conquerors proud to be considered part of themselves; and they never sat brooding in sloth and filth over the fabulous dignities and splendour and possessions of their forefathers. It is, therefore, not perverseness, but sheer nonsense, to talk of wrongs which the Irish experienced from *that* cause. The English imposed the *Protestant hierarchy* upon the Irish. Very unjust, but having no tendency to make them *poor*, any more than the same imposition *upon themselves*; and it has been *heavier upon themselves*; for they have

always had to yield *greater* tithes than the Irish. They forbade the open profession of their religion, on pain of exclusion from civil and political power. Unjust as well as foolish; but the same is done to the Quakers everywhere; and that does not make them *poor and ragged*; and now, when the Irish have civil and political power, they are *poorer than ever*! Have the English people *ever* taxed the Irish? We will see about that by-and-by, when we come to talk of the reform that you are seeking. How then have the "English people" made the Irish people poor? They have, indeed, suffered them to be made poor, by not compelling the owners of the land in Ireland to pay poor-rates. This is their great sin towards the Irish people; and now, when they seem resolved to do right in this respect, and to make reparation for the wrong, as far as they can, you step in with erroneous facts and fallacious arguments to induce the Irish to believe that that long-withheld good is *an evil*! The fact is, however, that the English people have never had any hand in causing the wrongs and misery endured by the Irish people. The wrongs and this misery, as far as they have been caused by misrule, have been inflicted by that "band of oligarchs," to whom you have so often, so recently, and so justly ascribed them, and amongst whom your *native* oligarchs have been the very, very worst. The English people have always commiserated the sufferings of the Irish; and this feeling has always been most conspicuous, too, amongst the *Church-of-England* people. The people of England have been wronged by the injustice of the oligarchs as much as, or more than, the Irish have; for they have had to pay for keeping the Irish people in submission to those who refused to give them poor-laws, and who thereby reduced them to starvation. If this be not the true state of the matter, you have the means of proving the contrary; and if this be the true state of the matter, let the reader characterize *your charge against the English people of having made the Irish people poor*.

From this general charge against the people of England, which it was necessary to place in its true light, I come to your

several charges against "*English poor-laws*," which might, perhaps, have experienced from you some little mitigation of censure, if you had, by any accident, happened to know that they were, too, *American* poor-laws, as you will (to your indignant surprise, I dare say) learn more circumstantially by-and-by. The first thing that you urge against our poor-laws is, that they "*interfere with wages*," and that this is one of the things that "*frightens*" you. As an Irish lawyer, you might be excused for ignorance of these laws, but not for a *misrepresentation of them*: and here we have a mere fact to deal with, and have the written proof at hand. To the original poor-law of the 43rd of Elizabeth, many acts have been added, relating to the relief and management of the poor; and, in no one of these acts, is there any authority given to anybody to *interfere with the wages* of labour, nor is there in any of them, nor in the original law itself, any countenance given to any such interference. So that, it appears that you have been frightened by the workings of your own imagination. That, in many cases, the magistrates in settling the amount of relief, have taken the amount of *the wages of the party into view*; and that they have, in most cases, made the relief too small in proportion to the wages; and that, in many cases, the employers of farm-labourers have, in order to ease themselves at the expense of gentlemen and tradespeople, given the labourers *less in wages and more in poor-rates*; all this is true enough, and it certainly involves a misapplication of the powers of the poor-laws; but what charge does this imply *against the poor-laws themselves*? And, after all, what is this evil? what does this crooking-working of self-interest amount to, compared with the frightful evil of leaving thousands to perish with hunger and cold for want of legal and sure relief?

For "*sick and maimed*," however, you would, it seems, have relief provided by "*the State*." It is impossible to know what you mean by *the State*; but at any rate, you would have *them* provided for by a compulsory assessment of some sort; but not *the aged, nor the hale*,

though these latter be without work, and without the means of obtaining food or raiment; and, you add, that you "*believe*" that "it was not, *at first*, intended "by the poor-laws to provide for the wants "of this class." When a *lawyer* is speaking of an *act of Parliament*, and especially when its tendency is the subject matter of his discourse, he should not "*believe*" anything about its provisions; and, before you pronounced so decided a condemnation of this, the greatest of all our acts of Parliament, which, in fact, furnishes a great part of the machinery for carrying on all our internal affairs, and which raises and disposes of more than seven millions of pounds sterling in a year in England and Wales; before you so boldly condemned this great act, your mind ought to have had left in it not the smallest ground for *belief* respecting the provisions. This *belief* is, however, erroneous; for the act *does* provide, and it clearly *intends* to provide, for this class of persons; and, if it had not provided for them, it would have been nugatory at the time; and if they were not provided for now, an army of five hundred thousand men would not uphold the Government of England for a month! I thank God, that it does provide for their wants; I thank God, that it gives them a *right* to relief, and that they *know* and *feel* it. It is the bond of peace; it is the cement of English society; and accursed be all those who would enfeeble it!

But, "the *sick and maimed*," you would have the *state* provide for these; but not for the *aged*; and if there be, in "almost *every village* of Ireland, a *dispensary*, and in every county town an "*hospital*," there is provision already made for the "*sick and maimed*;" so that the Irish poor have all that you want them to have! Glad to know it! It certainly is *news* to me. I wish it may be *true*! Yet there must want a "*dispensary*" of food and clothing, or else we have been told *most monstrous lies* about the people eating stinking shell-fish, sea-weed, and nettles, and about whole parishes receiving the *extreme unction* preparatory to death from starvation, and about whole families of females being in a state of *complete*

nakedness; and our own eyes must deceive us, and mine, especially, must deceive me, when I think I see, every month of my life, hundreds of squalid creatures tramping into London, by my door, without shoes, stockings, or shirts, with nothing on the head worthy of the name of hat, and with rags hardly sufficient to hide the nakedness of their bodies! However, for the *aged* you will have *no provision*. And *why*? What is your *reason* for this? For, upon the face of the proposition, it does seem to be dictated by anything but *that tenderness* which you are constantly expressing towards the Irish people. Your reasons are these: 1. That, by making provision for the destitute in old age, you take away the great inducement to *industry and frugality in the days of youth*; and, 2. That you deprive the *aged parents of the aid of their children*, who, seeing a provision for them in the poor-house, will leave them to go to perish in its "*naked cells*." As to the first of these reasons, it would be equally good against a provision for the "*sick and maimed*," if they *happened to be old*. But are *all* the *labouring* people *able*, in youth, to lay by something for old age? It is the decree of God that the human race shall be sustained by labour; nine-tenths of labour is painful in some degree; very few of the human race will encounter pain, but from *necessity*; and none will, therefore, seldom encounter more of this pain than is demanded by their *present wants*. To call upon men who are engaged in pursuits *not bodily painful*, to lay by, in their youth, for the days of old age, is reasonable and just; but to call upon the hard-working man to do this is neither. If he do it (and, in *England*, he, to a great extent, does it, in five cases out of six, after all); if he do it, where is the tongue or pen to speak the praise that is his due! But if he have not, from *whatever* cause, been able to do it, or have not done it, he has a *clear right* to a provision in old age: he has spent his life and worn out his strength in the service of the community; and that reluctance which every man naturally feels to ask another for something, is a sufficient security against his being *lazy*

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and prodigal in his youth, upon a cool calculation of the benefit of parochial provision in his old age. With regard to your second objection; namely, that by making a provision for old age, you deprive the indigent parents of the aid of their children, who, seeing the "naked cell" provided for them, will let them go to it; with regard to this matter, you appear to regard the Irish people as being capable of setting at defiance, and as likely to set at defiance, not only the laws of nature, but also the express and a hundred-times-repeated laws of God. No very high compliment to your countrymen! No very strong proof of the sincerity of your belief in that "generosity," that "active and practical compassion for the poor," and that "deep sense of religion" which we shall presently see you ascribing to them! But you, as a lawyer, might have told them one thing, and since you did not do it, I will; and that is, that if neither the laws of nature nor those of God could induce them so far to honour their father and their mother as to keep them from the poor-house, the poor-law would compel them to do it, they having the ability; and if they have not the ability, how can poor-laws deprive the parents of their aid? As a lawyer, you ought to have known that those poor-laws which you so vehemently decry, compel all persons, being able to do it, to maintain their indigent fathers, mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers, children, and grand-children. This is what you ought to have told your Dublin audience, though it might have cost you the loss of some of those valuable cheers, which you obtained by this suppression of the truth, and by supplying its place with the "naked cell," existing nowhere but in your imagination. Either you did not know the law as to this matter, or you did know it. If the former, you ought to have known it before you made this speech; and if the latter, I decline to characterize your conduct.

But, Sir, in your anxious haste to narrow the effect of poor-laws, you forgot that, besides the sick, the maimed, and the aged, there were some other parties who are, however, by no means overlooked in that HOLY WRIT, for not be-

lieving in which we shall presently find you condemning the "infidel" to be dealt with in a way "to supersede all legal punishment"; namely, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger. In your comprehensive scheme of "active and practical compassion for the poor," you will make no provision for these! The English poor-laws, which do not cry, "Lord! Lord!" but which do his will, make provision for them all; and well, indeed, is it that they do, or thousands upon thousands of Irishmen would, at this very moment, be dying and lying dead from starvation; and that, too, if your doctrine be sound, without having the smallest ground for accusing the English of injustice or cruelty.

The law of settlement you represent as an instrument of oppression. Your story about yearly servants being obliged to be one month out of employ, in order to prevent them from gaining a settlement, is mere romance, the thing being impossible; because the whole of the business in all the farm-houses in the country must, in that case, be suspended for a month; and, to believe that this can take place, you must know about English farming as little as, for your sake, I hope you know about our poor-laws. In some cases, for the reason here assigned, the master will hire the servant for some days less than a year; but it much oftener happens that this sort of bargain is from the wish of the servant, who does not, in general, wish to "lose his parish;" and, at this moment, I have a country-boy living with me, whose mother would not consent to his coming unless the bargain was such as not to cause him "to lose his parish." This, at once, shows the light in which the working people view the poor-law. Instead of deeming them a bond of "slavery," as you choose to represent them, they deem them the title of their right to their patrimony. And with regard to the compelling of married people to stick to their parishes, it is a great good, instead of being an evil; it being evident that people in that state of life will be, in all respects, more careful of their characters, and will be more likely to be of better behaviour, if resident

amongst those who know them, than if wandering about from place to place. If they quit their parishes, and become chargeable to another, or manifestly likely to be so, the poor-laws expose them not to oppression, but consider them in the light of "*the stranger*," relieve them if necessary, and take them home to their parish. Well would it have been, Sir, for the thousands of poor *forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland*, whom the "*LIBERATOR*" saw driven off the estates, as the price of that "*Emancipation*" which gave him a seat in Parliament; well would it have been for these poor sacrificed creatures, if there had been an English law of *settlement* to compel the savage landlords to keep them; and in that case, indeed, they would never have been driven off the estates, and, finally, as they were, exposed to all the horrors of famine and pestilence.

We now come to two assertions, which, from their character, and from one and the same term being applicable to both, ought not, for a moment, to be separated; namely, 1. That, in the town of SHREWSBURY, you saw placards, on which were inscribed the words, "*VAGRANTS and Irish LABOURERS whipped out of the town*;" and, 2. That "*Mr. STURGES BOURNE made an improvement in the law; for he provided that, after the Irish LABOURER was whipped, he should be sent home.*" As you positively assert that you saw these placards at SHREWSBURY, I must suppose that SHREWSBURY is in Ireland; for I am sure you never saw such a placard in *England*. This town is certainly in Tipperary or Connaught, or something: at any rate, I assert that you never saw it in an *English* town. As to the second of this couple of assertions; FIRST, in no bill ever brought in by STURGES BOURNE is there one single word about "*Irish labourers*," and in no law that is now in existence, or that *ever was in existence*, is there any provision for, or one word about, the *whipping of Irish labourers*. Therefore, had you not said that the matter of this speech was the fruit of your "*daily thoughts, nightly musings, and morning meditations*," I should have concluded

that it was the subject of *a dream*, or an effusion, emanating from an exillering draught at Bellamy's.

But suppose we were to disregard the sufferings of the Irish *here*; were to let them die in the streets, instead of *sending them home*, we should only be acting upon *your own principle*; for you propose to leave *the stranger*, even in his own country, without any relief at all. But how can you, Sir, reconcile with your profession of a desire to see the two countries cordially united; how can you reconcile with this profession this assertion, that there is a law, in England, authorising *the whipping of Irish labourers before they be sent home*? I hope that some one has told you the story, and that want of time prevented you from looking after *this law*. The falsehood being so entire; it not having a shadow of truth to give it countenance, I cannot help hoping that this is the case. I see, in the course of the year, many hundreds of them going off to Bristol in very commodious caravans, drawn by good horses, smoking their pipes, and full of your admired "*wild merriment*." Never are they whipped, and there is no law for whipping them, in any case, in which an Englishman would not be whipped.

Equally *destitute of truth* is the assertion, that "*clergymen of the Church of England have sworn, that, out of every twenty women of the poorer classes, that were married by them, nineteen were pregnant.*" No clergyman in England ever *swore* this, and no one ever said it. The tale is a gross misrepresentation of evidence given before a committee of the House of Commons in 1828, when the overseer of PELHAM, in HERTFORDSHIRE, told the committee, that nearly the whole of the young women were pregnant before they were married; because, being *too poor to pay the expenses of the wedding*, they generally put it off, *till the parish was glad to pay for it*. But was this the fault of the poor-laws? No; but, as was shown by the same evidence, the *fault of the taxes*, which made the farmers unable to pay the labourers a sufficiency of wages, and that this latter made the labourers so poor, that they

were unable to get married before the pregnancy became obvious to the parish-officers. Thus the poor-laws, instead of being the *cause of this shame* to the young people, actually came in and prevented the children from being born out of wedlock.

The same may be said of your statements relative to the letting out of the English labourers to hire to the highest bidder, and of all the other degrading measures adopted by overseers. They are *abuses* of the poor-laws, and not evils *created* by the poor-laws: they have arisen out of *recent alterations* in those laws, and not out of those laws themselves, as is clear from the fact, that those laws existed for about two hundred years before any of these evils and oppressions were ever heard of.

As to the *farming of the poor*, supposing it to be done upon just principles, what is it more than *putting children to be boarded by the year*? If care be taken that the contractor do what he ought to do, there is nothing either unjust or degrading in this; and if he do not do his duty, and the poor people complain, the payers of the rates have no interest, and can have no inclination to uphold him in his wrong-doing. So that this is a perfectly futile objection to poor-laws, of which, however, this species of contract forms no essential part.

Your next statement is, that "*in consequence of the poor-laws, the FIRES are now blazing in England, from north to south.*" The cause of these fires is well known; it is openly avowed, it is specific; and it is, that the farmers *do not give the labourers so much wages as they say they ought to have.* This is notoriously the cause. In many cases the *fires* have stopped when the wages have been *raised*; and have begun again when the wages have been *lowered*. This has, indeed, been the case all over the country: and, in the face of these well-known facts, considering also that the poor-laws have existed two hundred and about forty years, and never produced such effects before, it required, certainly, nothing short of a *Dublin audience* to embolden you to describe the FIRES as "*a consequence of the poor-laws;*"

after which, who need to wonder if you were to ascribe the national debt and the cholera morbus to the poor-laws?

You have known "committee after committee sit in vain, to discover some way of making an *effective amelioration* in the poor-laws." Have you, indeed! and so have I too. But that may be an argument *in favour* of the poor-laws. LORD COKE said, that "MAGNA CHARTA was too *strong a fellow* to be overcome by puny acts of Parliament:" and the same may be said of Old Betsy's poor-law. But, do you know what they mean by "*amelioration*?" I will tell you: *taking away the relief.* This is what they have been trying at for about twenty years. But they find the law "*too strong a fellow*" for them. It is the Magna Charta of the working people; it is written in their hearts; the writing descends from the heart of the father to that of the son; and God forbid that it should ever be effaced; for, if ever that day come, English society and English manners and English happiness will all be effaced along with it, and the world will lose the example of a working-people, such as it never had in any other country upon earth.

Now, Sir, before I come to your general and sweeping denunciations against the English poor-laws, let me, in finishing these particular assertions and arguments, just put under your eyes one remaining assertion: it is this: "Apothecaries to supply the poor with medicines are *hired*, whose interest it is, that the sick poor should die as soon as possible, in order that they may be at the *less expense for medicines.*" This, too, was the result of your "*thoughts by day, your musings by night, and your morning meditations,*" was it? If you, Sir, can now again see this your insinuation upon paper, and not change colour, anything addressed to you, though by a pen a million times as eloquent as mine, must be wholly thrown away.

Leaving you to consider of, to think, muse, and meditate on, the figure you make before Englishmen, with this insinuation on your lips, I now come to your sweeping assertions relative to the effects of the poor-laws, and to the picture

which you give us of the people of the two countries so much in favour of the Irish. You told your cheering audience, that the poor-laws made *slaves* of the English working people; that it completely *destroyed their character for independence*; that you preferred the *wild merriment* of the Irishman to the *half-sulky, half-miserable* tones of the English *slave* to the poor-laws; that the Irishman certainly had his *distresses* [indeed!], but then he had his *hopes* [of what?]; he endured much misery, but then he *entertained expectation of redress*! Here, it seems, there was "*great cheering*;" and well there might, if the matter conveyed *surprise as agreeable* to your audience as it does to me. Well, then, here you wipe away the heavy charge of our poor "half-sulky, half-miserable," slaves having made the Irish *poor*! And if this really be the state of the Irish people (and who can doubt it since *you* say it is); if they have those cheering hopes and flowery expectations; if they save in youth wherewithal to support them in age; if they have dispensaries in all the villages, and hospitals in all the county towns; and if they be (as under such happy circumstances they naturally must be) *wild in merriment*; this being (as we now *know* it is) their state, then, upon my word, if they still come here to mock with their mirth our poor, "half-sulky" souls, I shall be for giving their hides a little flogging, *à la Shrewsbury*; for "United Kingdom" here, or "United Kingdom" there, they are not to come here with their "wild merriment," and taunt us with our "half-miserable" tones! However, when I get upon the same floor with you, we will soon make an equitable adjustment as to *this* matter, at any rate. You shall move and I will second a bill, which, when it become a law, shall be called the ACT OF RECIPROCITY, giving you power to whip all the "half-miserable" English slaves that go to Ireland, and me power to whip all the youths of "wild merriment" that come to England. This would set all to rights in a trice: you would preserve your "*green island*" from the contagion of the *sulks*; and if I did not clear ours of the "wild merriment," there should be neither whalebone nor whipcord left in England.

But now let us (and soberly, if it be possible) take a more minute look at these general assertions made by you. They, taken fairly and without exaggeration, amount to this: that the English poor-laws *degrade* a people, destroy all *independence of spirit*, and, in fact, *make them slaves*. Before I come to ask you how these assertions are sustained by the comparative condition and character and manners of the English and the Irish, you will perhaps permit me to ask you how MOSES came to make such ample provision for the indigent poor; how THE APOSTLES came to do the same, and to establish the order of DEACONS for the express purpose of superintending the tables at which the poor were relieved; how the CATHOLIC CHURCH came to receive all lands and other real property, as well as gifts in money, *in the name of the poor*, and in no other name; how THAT CHURCH came to allot one-third part of the tithes to the poor, which in Ireland, you say, the Protestant parsons "*filched*" from them: you will, perhaps, permit me to ask you how all this came to be, if *poor-laws*; that is to say, *regular relief to the indigent*, have a natural tendency to degrade, break down the spirit, and enslave men; for, mind, the act of Old Betsy only came to supply the place of the *certain* and *regular parochial relief*, before secured to the people by the *statute* as well as the *common* and the *canon law*. You will, I dare say, answer, by saying, that if Moses, the Apostles, St. Austin, Pope Gregory, and the makers of Magna Charta, had been aware of the manifold blessings of stinking shell-fish, sea-weed, nettles, and *agitation*, they would have made an exception as to the "*green island*." Well, but the mere *colour* cannot signify much in such a case; and then let me ask you, whether you deem the people of the *United States of America* to be *degraded*, destitute of *independent spirit*, and *slaves*?

Now, Sir, to be serious for a little; though a *lawyer*, it was no duty incumbent on you to know the laws of the *United States of America*; but, as a *gentleman* and *man of learning*, it might be expected of you, that you understood something of the laws of a country of so

much importance; and, as a *legislator* of this kingdom, so very extensively, in various ways, connected with that republic, give me leave to think that it was *your duty* to know something of the principal laws in force in a country, the freedom and prosperity of which, have become subjects of so much admiration throughout the civilized world. Yet, that you know nothing of those laws, more than you do of the laws of the Cherokee nation of savages, is certain; otherwise it is impossible that you could have put forth, even in Dublin, this sweeping reprobation of the English poor-laws; seeing that the famous act of the 43rd year of ELIZABETH is in full force in every state of that republic, and that it is acted upon in the most kind and attentive manner. I cannot speak positively, but I think, that we could not pay less than *fifty thousand dollars a year*, in poor-rates, in the city of Philadelphia, thirty-two years ago. I dare say, that the poor-rates of the city of New York now amount to more than a *hundred thousand dollars a year*. Both cities have *poor-houses* of prodigious dimensions; and, which will, doubtless, fill you with indignation, the youths of "*wild-merriment*" are the most numerous and most permanent inmates of the "*naked cells*" of those poor-houses! Many a score dollars have I myself paid for the *relief* of the merry lads and lasses, in both those humane cities, and never grudged so to do; and many a pound have I paid for the relief of similar merry persons at KENSINGTON; but *not without grudging*, knowing well, that what I pay, in this way, is, in reality, given to the crafty and hard-hearted landlords of Ireland. I never lived in any place in America, without paying poor-rate. And it even happened, when I lived in Long Island, the *overseer* of our township (North HEMPSTEAD) came and took a servant girl away to her township (FLUSHING), she being in a state which the delicacy demanded by Irish ears forbids me to name. We being greatly in want of the services of the girl, I begged hard for a respite for a few days; but the ex-officio guardian of the morals and the money of the township, was inexorable: "Mr. Cawbut comes from old England;

"Mr. Cawbut must *know the law*, and "Mr. Cawbut must know that the law "*must be obeyed*;" and, with that, he put her into his cart, and away he took her and married her, I hope, to a very good husband. So, you see, Sir, that you have, in this memorable piece of intense eloquence, wasted a great deal of very fine indignation upon a very commonplace subject.

However, to give you something beyond these assertions of mine, let me first inform you, that, some years ago, several parishes, in the east of Sussex, sent out, at their expense, to *New York*, divers families, who, from their numerousness, were greatly burdensome to those parishes; and, some years before that, some farmers went out, from the same neighbourhood, also to *New York*. They sent home letters to their relations, giving an account of the country, and of their situation, and, generally, beseeching their fathers and mothers and brethren and friends to follow them. I, hearing of this, and wishing to dissuade *English people* from going, if they did go abroad, from going to any other country but the United States, went down into Sussex, saw the parties who had received the letters, got them from them (I have them now), and published them in my little work, called "*The EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*," which every member of both Houses of Parliament, and especially my Lord GREY, *ought to read*, and particularly the letters of these excellent people, *the labourers of Sussex*. If I had never cared about English labourers before, these letters would have rivetted them to my heart. Affectionate parents, dutiful children, lovers of their country: there are *all* the virtues here! And these are the people whom the garret-lodged prigs of the London newspapers call "*ignorant peasantry*," and Mr. Sheil called "*Kentish boors*!" But, the interesting thing at present, is, what did *these people* say about poor-laws in America?

Now, Sir, do, pray, look at the *little book*. If I were at home, I would send you a copy. Look first, in page 92, at a letter from farmer BENJAMIN FOWLE, addressed to his cousin, DANIEL FOWLE, of SMARDEN, in Kent, and dated from

UTICA, in the State of New York. He is describing to his cousin the happy state of the country; and he thus speaks of the poor-laws: "I have been *poor-master* of this town for many years, and I find it a rare thing for a *resident* to become an annual town-charge." But, *strangers* and *temporary poor*, he had frequently. Then he adds, that he knows of no one who takes the trouble to lock his doors by night. So, you see, honesty and virtue can co exist with old Betty's law, which, you say, *degrades* people and destroys their character and makes them slaves! But what the *labourers* say on the subject, in their letters, is still more interesting, and more to the point. Look at pages 55 and 58. The writer is STEPHEN WATEON, jun., of SEDDLESCOMB, near Battle, in Sussex; and I got the letter from his father, who now lives at Seddlescomb, and whose name is also STEPHEN WATSON. In his letter, dated at ALBANY, 5th Oct., 1823, he tells his father this: "Do not make yourselves *uneasy* about us; for if we cannot get a living here, here is a POOR-HOUSE, JUST THE SAME AS IN ENGLAND." Oh! "the *slave* of the poor-laws!" Then, on the 29th of March, he, beginning his letter with "Honoured father and mother," writes thus: "The laws of this country are as good as in England: the poor are well taken care of: there is a large house in this place for the accommodation of the old and infirm that are not able to work." The *hale* wanted none, for the work was always plenty.

How different, Sir, the American patriots and legislators are from you! You will, by no means, have a provision for the aged, lest it should cause laziness and improvidence in youth, and lest it should deprive parents of the aid and the affectionate attachment of their children! How wide the difference between the American and the Irish philosophy! STEPHEN WATSON, who calls his father and mother "*honoured*," and who, I'll be bound for him, never said "your hanner," to any man in all his life, does not, you see, seem to think that poor-laws make "*slaves*." He says, "the laws of this country are as good as in

England." And why? Because the poor are well taken care of, and because there is a *poor-house*.

Now, Sir, will you acknowledge that you have done wrong to English poor-laws and English labourers? You will not? Very well, then, I will proceed, and go right forward into your comparative estimate of the character and condition of the English and the Irish working people. And, in the way of preface, let us have your own description of Ireland, and of its people, as published in your address to the Irish nation, dated at Dublin, on the 6th of this month.

I begin with calling your attention to these truths:—

FIRST, That there is not on the face of the globe a more fertile country than ours, nor any one that produces, for its extent, such a superabundance of all the prime necessities for the food, clothing, and comfort of its inhabitants.

SECONDLY, That no country is so well circumstanced for general commerce as ours; we are at the western extreme of Europe with a direct navigation to every maritime state in Europe, whilst our connexion with Asia and Africa is by open ocean space; and with the free American republics our intercourse may be the most direct, rapid, and unconfined.

THIRDLY, Our green island is indented by spacious roadsteads, magnificent bays and estuaries, and capacious harbours—harbours open at every hour of every tide, and sheltered from every wind, and secure from every tempest.

FOURTHLY, Our fertile island, too, is extensively intersected by navigable rivers; and the hard and durable materials of which our roads are, or may be formed, would easily afford the means of ready communication and speedy intercourse with every part of our productive soil.

FIFTHLY, The streams that rush from our majestic mountains, or sweep with abundant and rapid course through our green and glorious valleys, give a superabundant multitude of mill sites, and afford the cheapest and most healthful power for the working of manufactories in the known world.

SIXTHLY, Our climate is genial and conducive to long life and manly vigour. No parching suns scorch our plains into aridity, or our people into decrepitude. No chilling frosts destroy the power of vegetation, or thin our population by the pinching blight of excessive cold.

SEVENTHLY, This lovely land is inhabited by a people brave as they are patient, generous as they are hardy, good-humoured as they are laborious, intelligent, numerous almost beyond the number of the oppressions they are made to endure. Suffering woes themselves; they

are full of active and practical compassion for the poor and the needy; and, above all, they are a people deeply impressed with all the sincerity of religious belief, and with the incalculable value of religious practices. Differing as many of them do with each other upon various points of faith, they one and all scorn and detest infidelity; and the infidel or the atheist, if he were to rear his detested head amongst us, would find that speedy punishment from universal opinion which would render the inflictions of law needless, and would anticipate and supersede all legal punishment.

My countrymen, these truths are undeniable. Such is a faint sketch of Ireland and her population. Why are the blessings of God perverted? How are the generous and noble impulses of man blighted? Why is Ireland in a state of decrepitude and decay? Why are her towns in general dwindling into villages? Why are her villages so frequently disappearing? Why are her farmers emigrating, or sinking into labourers? Why are her labourers almost unemployed, or wholly starving?

Well, then, as far as the seven heads of description go, here is a heaven upon earth; and these are all "truths undeniable." So that, if we do not find the Irish labourers better in character and condition than the English, we shall here find no argument against the poor-laws. But before I enter on the comparison, I feel my attention forcibly arrested by a sentiment in the 7th paragraph, and by an assertion in the last of all; and on these I must remark before I go an inch further. In the 7th paragraph, you, in the excess of your religious zeal, condemn the "infidel" to a popular punishment, superseding the operations of the law (that is to say, to knocking on the head), if he dare to raise that "detested head" in the "green island;" and yet, only about two years ago, you were perfectly clamorous for putting the worst of all infidels, the Jews, upon the bench and in the King's Council; infidels who not only raise their "detested head," but who raise their horrible voices also, to declare JESUS CHRIST to have been "an impostor," and who, amongst the blasphemous rites of their synagogues, are said to crucify him in effigy twice in the year! In short, two years ago, you were for unchristianizing the country by law, and now you are for knocking the infidel on

the head, without judge or jury! Now, could this subject have had your "daily thoughts, nightly musings, and morning meditations," in both cases?

The assertion to which I have alluded, and which is in the last paragraph, is this: "that the towns of Ireland are dwindling into villages, and that its villages are frequently disappearing." Compare this assertion with the oath that you made before the committees of the House of Lords in 1825; namely, that the population of Ireland had been, and still was, prodigiously increasing, and that a surplus population was one of the causes of the misery of the people! That was your oath, or words, I pledge myself, fully to that effect. Which statement are we, then, to believe? Will you say that this dismal decay of towns and villages has taken place since 1825? Hardly; for, then, we shall ask you what are become of your splendid promises of prosperity to Ireland which Emancipation was to give? And (more serious still!) where are those "nine millions," and that "growing importance," which you put forward as the ground of Ireland's claim to an equality with England?

And now, Sir, let your Dublin audience remain to clap hands and huzzas, while you and I enter on that comparison (which you have provoked) of the relative character and condition and manners of the Irish lads of "wild merriement," and the "English sulky slaves of the poor-laws."

First of all, it is of importance to observe that, as to the means which are the gift of God, the Irish have, from your own account, greatly the advantage over the English. For, while you assert that there is not on the face of the globe, a country more fertile than Ireland, it is well-known that there are many more fertile than England; for, though, by incessantly scratching and tumbling it about, we do make it produce a good deal; still, when you come to your "majestic mountains," pouring down streams into "glorious valleys, there to set endless "mills and manufactories" into motion, and that, too, in promoting of "health" at the same time; when you come to

these, you make us feel our inferiority; and, above all, on the score of *greenness*, in which respect you appear to surpass us beyond all comparison. There are, indeed, persons not so devotedly and exclusively attached to this particular *colour*; and, for instance, I have no objection, nay, I like, to see a part and a great part of a country *brown*; and, at one time of the year, *white*. You, however, deem *greenness* the mark of perfection; and you *have it*: the "English people" have not robbed the Irish of *that*, at any rate. Again, we have indeed, "*harbours*" too; but not, like you, harbours "open" at *every hour of every tide*, and sheltered from *every wind*, and secure from *every tempest*." We are obliged to wait for the tides, whether coming in or going out; and, with all our moorings and double moorings, our ships are frequently driven on the beach, or out to sea. These toils and dangers are, it seems, unknown to Ireland, to the people of which "lovely land" the proverb of "time and tide waiting for no man," must be wholly without a meaning.

But, Sir, now comes your great difficulty; for, if these, which you have given us here, be "*truly undeniable*;" if such be the natural resources and advantages of Ireland; if no spot of the globe exceed her in fertility; if she be favoured in the manner that you describe: and yet, if, as you say is the case, "the blessings of God are there so perverted, that she is" in a state of *decrepitude and decay*, "her towns *dwindling into villages*, her *villages disappearing*, and her labourers almost unemployed, or *wholly starving*;" and if, as we know to be the case, her people are seen wandering over this *our country* (not so blessed by God) in search of food, and in a state nearly approaching to that of actual nakedness; and if, as you insist, poor-laws, to secure them food and clothing at home *would not better their lot*: if all this be so; or rather, if all this *were so*, we should, like the English Grenadier of the Guards, when he landed in Virginia, be tempted to exclaim, "The ADAM and EVE of this people surely came out of Newgate."

It will not do for you in this case to say

that the "blessings of God have been perverted" by the English, until, at least, you have replied to my answer to your charge against us, on that score; and besides, the public have not already forgotten that you represented that "*emancipation*," which you obtained even beyond the extent of your petitions, as *all* that Ireland wanted to make her contented and happy and everlastingly grateful to England: and that you pledged yourself that the adoption of that measure would enable the Government to draw additional millions of revenue from Ireland. We have not so soon forgotten those your a-thousand-times-repeated declarations; and, therefore, we deny you the right to *impute to us* this "perversion of the blessings of God."

You must, then, impute it to yourselves; or you must confess that your country calls for that very INSTITUTION; that great *English institution*, which we are now about to tender you, and which you are endeavouring to prepare your miserable countrymen to reject as a *scourge*. Look at the difference in the working people of the two countries. You have, if you *do* speak the truth, the advantage over us in climate and soil; and you have, you say, a people "*brave, patient, generous, hardy, good-humoured, laborious, and intelligent*." Yet look at the *difference in the people*, and particularly the *working people*, of the two countries! Look at it: consider it well: here, indeed, is matter for an *Irish legislator* to think, muse, and meditate upon. When did you, or anybody else, ever see or hear of *Englishmen* prowling about, in bands of half-naked beggars, in any country upon earth: when did you ever hear of the necessity of taking *them* up by force, and carrying them like malefactors and tossing them back upon their native shores: when did you ever hear of *them* being an incumbrance to any people amongst whom they went: when, since you talk of their *hovels*, did you see or hear of English labourers being in hovels, in company with the pig, the flesh of which they were destined never to taste, both feeding on the same root, at the same board, warmed by the same chimneyless fire, and both blackened by the same smoke: when,

since you talk of the "naked cells" of the poor-house, did you ever hear of thousands of *them* living on stinking shell-fish, sea-weed, and nettles, and of thousands at a time receiving the last offices of religion as preparatory to death from starvation: when, since you call them *slaves*, did you ever see or hear of one of *them* applying the cringing and fawning appellation of "*your hanner*" to any human being, much less to any thing, though groom or footman, from whom they expected to coax a farthing or a mouthful of bread: when did you ever hear of *English* labourers who needed, or who would *contentedly* suffer, an employer to stand over them at their work: when did you ever hear of *their* dwellings being destitute of every mark of cleanliness and of decent reserve, having about them no traces of human existence within, except the feculent heap at the door, which nature herself would call upon them to hide: when did you ever see or ever hear talk of one of *their* rural habitations, not having about it (unless rendered impossible by local circumstances) gooseberry and currant bushes, beds of parsley and other herbs, plants of wall-flower and biennial stock, clumps of polyanthus, daisies, and bulbs, and other flowers, and, where possible, plants of roses and honeysuckles, trained round their windows, or over their doors, with the greatest care and the greatest taste, of all which, together with apple-trees grafted by their own hands, and together also with *stalls of bees*, the result of their own care; there are more in a circuit, embracing ten rural parishes of England, than there are to be found in possession of all the millions of labourers that inhabit the "lovely land:" when, lastly (not to suffer the provocation to urge me further), did you ever see or hear of an "*English slave*" *disowning the country of his birth*, and wherever found, and under whatever circumstances, not forward to proclaim himself an *Englishman*, and to boast of *the honour of the name*?

Now, Sir, avoiding, as something too painful to encounter, a detailed exhibition of the other side, do I ascribe *the difference to the nature of the Irish people*, to any *inherent vice* in them?

By no means. I ascribe it to the difference in the *treatment* received by the two people from their rulers. Not to anything *done* by England to Ireland; but to the former not having *compelled* the domestic rulers of the latter to treat the Irish working people as the English working people have been treated, during the last two centuries and a half; and particularly to its not having compelled the owners of the land in Ireland to leave enough of its produce in the several parishes, to provide for the wants of the destitute; as is effectually done in England and America by those famous poor-laws, which BLACKSTONE truly says, are "*founded in the very principles of civil society*;" but the unspeakable benefit of which you are now labouring, though, I trust, in vain, to prevent your ill-treated, unhappy, and ever-troubled country from receiving. I allow, that, as to this matter, your efforts have received but too much countenance from those of persons in this country, who have long and particularly since the publication of the book of the foolish and unfeeling MALTHUS, been endeavouring to chip away the meaning, intention, and effect of the poor-laws. STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS were a bold stroke; but, the inventors, when they look at the *awful consequences*, will find little reason to congratulate themselves on their success. Those bills have already cost them ten thousand times more than the bills would have saved them in a hundred years. In 1819, the present Lord Chancellor said, that he was "*prepared to defend, to their utmost extent, the principles of Malthus*" He has *pledged himself* to bring in a poor-law bill *this session*, to supplant, I suppose, the bill of Lord TEYNHAM, which would in effect have repealed the hated bills of STURGES BOURNE, and have restored peace to the villages and hamlets. If the Lord Chancellor's Bill do not lessen the *extent of the claim* on the poor-rates, it will be a tacit giving up of MALTHUS; and, if it do, a bill to alter the succession to the crown would not be more *wild*! Oh, no! This law is immortal; it has lived under all changes of dynasty, and changes of forms of government, in England and in America; it is written in the hearts of the

people, it is "founded in the first principles of civil society;" it makes, if duly administered, even the poorest man feel that he has an interest in all the property around him; it is the ground, the good ground, the solid ground, but the *sole* ground, upon which the poor man is called upon to take up arms in defence of the rich; it is, as I said before, the bond of peace, and the cement of society; woe be unto those who shall attempt to destroy or enfeeble it in England, and the just reproach of mankind will in the end, be the inevitable lot of all who shall attempt to prevent its adoption in Ireland.

It was my intention to make some remarks on that part of your speech, where you speak of the *sort of reform* which you demand for Ireland, and where you clearly enough hint at the attempts which you shall make to cause a *separation*, if the intended reform be not such as *you shall deem "just;"* but, not having time to do justice to this subject now, and extremely anxious to act justly towards you, I must defer it till next week; and, in the meanwhile, offering you, if you deem it worth your while to use them for the purpose, the columns of my *Register* as a vehicle for *any reply* that you may choose to give to this letter, I remain, Sir,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. The SIX MANCHESTER LECTURES, with a PREFACE, and with this letter to Mr. O'CONNELL subjoined, are just published, in a volume, price 2s. 6d. in boards. The book is to be had at my shop, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET, LONDON; of Mr. LEWIS, Manchester; Mr. THOMAS SMITH, Liverpool; Mr. WILCONSON, Preston; and of all Booksellers in town and in the country.

CHURCH REFORMER'S MAGAZINE.

THIS work (of which I insert the PROSPECTUS below), the first Number of which will appear on the 1st of FEBRUARY, I strongly recommend to

the attention of my readers. It will contain *precisely what we want*; namely, correct information with regard to the *uses* to which the TITHES, and the other immense mass of property, commonly called *Church Property*, are applied; for it will convey to us communications from all parts of the country on the subject; and, through its columns, we shall gather the wishes and intentions of each other, with regard to any measures of *co-operation* amongst us, which it may be necessary to adopt. The parish-officers in every parish in England and Wales ought to *take and preserve* this useful publication, which, while it meddles not at all, and does not wish to see meddled with, any of the *doctrines* of the church, or any of the *spiritualities*, properly so called, challenges all the world to show that *the Parliament* will not have a clear and undoubted right to resume and dispose of its *temporalities* in any way that it may think fit. Mr. EAGLE, in his learned and lucid pamphlet, has proved "the *tithes to belong to the public and the poor.*" This periodical work will enable us mutually to communicate to each other facts showing the *expediency* and the *justice* of the resumption; and also enable us to lay, and put in execution, plans of active, zealous, and effectual *co-operation*, for the purpose of inducing the *Reformed Parliament* to afford us *speedy redress*.

PROSPECTUS.

The plan of this publication has been suggested by the loud and incessant outcry which has been raised throughout England and Ireland for a reformation of the abuses of the Established Church, in respect to the temporal power, and the revenues of the Clergy, particularly tithes.

From the extraordinary and growing interest and anxiety which this very important question has excited in the public mind for some time past, and more especially since the rejection of the Reform Bill, and the eager desire for information respecting ecclesiastical affairs which is now manifested by persons of every rank in society, it is hoped that a favourable reception will be afforded to a periodical work exclusively devoted to the consideration of questions affecting the temporal establishment of the Church, and the laws by which it is regulated, without any reference to its spiritual doctrines, and containing full and

accurate intelligence of the various measures which are about to be brought before Parliament relative to tithes and other ecclesiastical matters, and of every other occurrence connected with the subject of church reform, and which is intended to exhibit such a faithful mirror of public opinion as will enable both the clergy and laity to discern the signs of the times.

The following is an outline of what are intended to form the principal contents of the work:—Original articles, and extracts from books of authority, relative to the nature, origin, and institution, of tithes and other temporalities of the Church; amount of Church Revenues, and their distribution; values of bishopricks, deaneries, prebends, and other spiritual livings and benefices, and salaries of stipendiary curates; temperate, but unsparing exposures of the abuses of the Church generally, its enormous expenditure, useless dignities, sinecures, pluralities, &c. &c.; policy and expedience of the tithe system, and evils and abuses of the law of tithes, and digests of remarkable tithe cases recently decided in the courts of equity and law; local and personal grievances arising from non-residence of the clergy, vexatious and oppressive tithe suits and exactions of tithes, clerical magistracy, &c., as to which authentic communications are particularly requested; cases of hardship and oppression in the ecclesiastical courts, and their evils and abuses; abstracts of bills in Parliament for regulating tithes, &c., which will be strictly examined and commented upon, and their objects and tendency explained, and the debates on such bills; petitions to the two Houses of Parliament respecting tithes, &c., which, if copies be sent to the editor, will be printed at length, or abstracted, according to their importance; events of the preceding month, including debates in Parliament, speeches and proceedings at public meetings, political unions and other societies in England and Ireland, relating to ecclesiastical reform, tithes, &c.; reviews of recent publications on the same subjects.

REFORM BILL.

Manchester, 16th Jan. 1832.

EVERYBODY here, high and low, wish that the Reform Bill had made the suffrage not depend upon poor-rates paid by the voter himself; but had given the vote to every man renting a house, or part of a house, worth 10*l.* a year, and rated to the poor. But I everywhere hear of an anxious desire to see the bill go quietly into effect, and to give it a fair and patient trial; and, further, every one seems to feel that much is due to the Ministers, and espe-

cially to Lord GREY, on account of this measure. All expect, however, great changes from a Reformed Parliament; but every one seems to hope that Lord Grey will remain in power to accomplish them. I, indeed, describe my own wishes here; but I verily believe that it is the general wish in this great and very important town.

There are rumours of a paper-money scheme being on foot! And it appears evident enough that Lord Grey has but this choice: PAPER-MONEY, or my proposition of EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT. For his own fame's sake, as well as for the peace and safety of the country, I hope he will choose the latter; for the former must produce confusion, of which no man can foresee the end.

There is a newspaper here called the *Guardian*, which is twin-brother of the *Leeds Mercury*, which is called the "GREAT LIAR OF THE NORTH." The former is carried on by one TAYLOR, the latter by one BAINES. Taylor has a lie or two about me every week, which are, I dare say, regularly put into the BLOODY OLD TIMES. The lies have, however, no effect here.

LETTER FROM LORD CLONCURRY TO MR. DWYER.

Lyons, Jan. 4, 1832.

SIR—Yesterday I received your letter of the 31st ult., calling my attention to the proceedings of a meeting that day, with the earnest suggestion of the meeting on the subject of an assembly of Irish Members of Parliament in Dublin, on the 9th inst., or some other day.

I see in the proceedings of the meeting that the proposal for such assembly is attributed by Mr. O'Connell to Mr. Grattan, a gentleman for whom, individually and by inheritance, I feel the highest degree of affection and respect; the proposal also accords very much with my own opinion, and was made by me in 1827, on the formation of "The Society for the Improvement of Ireland."

It is therefore necessary that I should state my reasons for now declining to attend such meeting. They are—

First—That I do not think that, under existing circumstances, such assembly could calmly deliberate or wisely debate the interests of the country, but rather that, under the influence of fear and terror, though with an

appearance of free-agency, it would aid Mr. O'Connell in either forcing him into office, or of drawing from our poor and generous people a farther portion of the wretched pittance remaining to them.

Secondly—It would, I fear, tend to widen the breach, so very pains-takingly made by that gentleman, between man and man in Ireland.

Thirdly—Of those who attend, County Members will be supposed to do so only from fear of future elections, whilst those who do not attend will be subject to inquisition and insult, and no individual will be credited for disinterested free-agency and patriotism; in fact it would probably be an assembly to register the decrees of Mr. O'Connell, most of which have latterly had their origin in selfishness, in disordered excitement, or in bad passion.

It would also look like an attempt at dictation, and a desire to embarrass, at a most critical moment, the only Ministry that, in any time, has deserved the confidence of the country, and the anxious support of the friends of rational Government.

It is very painful to refuse the request of a meeting of Irishmen; it is very painful to me, loving Ireland as I do, to risk the slightest injury to her interests, by declaring my abhorrence of the present conduct of one with whom, and for whom, I have so often acted; but it is a paramount duty, and, under such circumstances, I must not shrink.

The best men of the country are driven into privacy or into banishment; those who attempt to think for themselves or to beg a moment's cessation from violence, are proscribed; whether the triumph be reserved for Maudeville or O'Connell, the people, their friends, and the Government must perish!

As to the questions which will, I trust, be fairly debated and honourably supported in Parliament by all Irish Members and by the King's Ministers, I humbly but earnestly recommend a fair Reform Bill for Ireland, to secure a full, fair, and adequate representation of our people in Parliament, with just reference to their numbers, their rights, and their accurately ascertained contributions to the state. A provision for the poor, and for profitable labour levied on the land. These are the two chief and vital measures which do not admit delay. The entire nineteen Bills, recommended in 1830, deserve most serious attention—my opinions as to tithes were published in 1822, they do not, I believe, look selfish for a tithe-proprietor. The Subletting Act I would modify as far as it could be modified with justice to the small holders, and yet I am a landlord. The Grand Jury and the Vestry Laws I would abolish, and yet I am a country gentleman and a Protestant. What is just and right, an honest man should not be driven from by any personal feeling, by fear of danger or of undeserved reproach. The folly and ingratitude of O'Connell only affects me as it may injure our common coun-

try. I do not envy him his feelings, if he reflects on the false accusations he would insinuate against me. He lately asked me where I was, or what I was doing last year, when he was prosecuted? I answer, I was fighting for him with the law officers of the Crown, even to violent and personal altercation, in my endeavours to save him from punishment for an offence to which he had pleaded guilty. He insinuates that I ask favour from the great. I answer, that the only favour I ever asked for was for O'Connell, and through the Duke of Leinster, a man not to be shaken in his love for Ireland, his love of truth, and his love of noble independence.

I hope, and indeed I almost believe, that O'Connell forgets, when he states as facts, what he knows no rational being could believe—for instance, in his speech on Saturday last, to which you draw my attention, he asserts, on the pretended authority of Mr. Murphy, that *not one in one hundred and fifty* cattle are now slaughtered in Dublin that were before the Union. Will Mr. Murphy confirm this? or will O'Connell say why he makes free with the names of persons who have character to lose? He once put my name down for a Wellington tribute; shortly before he would have me lead the forty-shilling freeholders into rebellion, after having himself trafficked their rights for reasons he best knows. No man more earnestly joined me at one time in lamenting the injury done to themselves and to the country by the combining tradesmen; yet he soon after encouraged and excited combination to insult the best Chief Governor Ireland ever saw. He presided at a charity dinner of which I am patron, and omitted "The Health of the Chief Governor," the only one, in his station, who ever contributed to the charity. A few months ago he ordered his followers to clamour for "Repeal;" but when he hoped to be bought at his own price, he endeavoured to *burk* their opinions, and only let them breathe again when that hope was lost.

As to "Repeal" I was ever its warmest advocate, if I have ceased for one year to be so, it is because I relied on a patriot King and a good Ministry to render it unnecessary, and because I know that O'Connell has rendered it impracticable; he has excited anger and revived party animosity; he has rendered us totally unfit for self-government, whilst his own opinions vacillate between American republicanism, and the dear-lamented despotism of France.

Let us hope for wiser counsel and for better times; I know no slavery so dreadful as the slavery of falsehood, denunciation and terror which O'Connell, in his disappointment, has endeavoured to excite—whether he wishes that the Government, overawed, should throw themselves into the arms of the Orangemen, that they should resign to the Tories, or that the people, excited to rebellion, should deliver themselves to slaughter, and their country to

despair, I know not; but I feel certain that the danger is only to be averted by the opposition of all good men to both factions; by their union in defence of order, and by a calm and respectful representation of our wants.

I do not yet despair of attention and redress—if either be delayed, the fault is theirs who use threats which a man of spirit cannot brook, and to which, if a Government yielded, it could not exist. The enemies of Ireland look anxiously, and with hope, to divisions, to bloodshed, and to oppression, renewed in all its horrors; let her friends unite for her defence and their own safety.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,
James Dwyer, Esq. CLONCURRY.

LETTER FROM DR. DOYLE TO MR. O'CONNELL.

DEAR SIR,—There is now before me a report of your speech against a legal provision being made for the Irish poor, delivered by you at the Corn-exchange on Tuesday last. I have at present no hope of effecting another change in your opinions on this important subject; and if I allude to those which have taken place in your mind it is not by way of taunt or reproach, but to remind you, and the public also, that your judgment on this matter has not only vacillated, (and whatever vacillates is weak,) but that it has at different times, whilst the subject remained unchanged, determined itself not in different but in opposite ways. These changes, moreover, according to your own avowal, have not been the effect of heat, or passion, or of feeling of any sort; neither have they resulted from a want of meditation: they have been the fruit of long watchings and laborious reflection. I infer from this, and I say it with all due respect, that whether upon this subject you be right or wrong, you are not an authority to be followed; for authority, to be such, should be exempt from change. But if I despair of your reconversion to an earnest and eager approval of poor-laws (for all this was imported in a public letter in which you lately honoured me); and if I do not deem you an authority on this subject, why, it may be asked, do I now address you? I do so for the two following reasons: first, to prevent, as far as I can, that portion of the public, with whom your opinions are paramount, from being led into error by you; and, secondly, to set free from defamation that mode of relieving the Irish poor of which I myself, with many honest and able men, have been the consistent and unwearied advocates.

But before I proceed to the execution of this task, a task of no easy accomplishment, on account of the partialities and prepossessions linked to your name, I must settle with you a principle both of logic and morals. It is this: If a truth essentially connected with the duty of man to God and to his neighbour

be established, by the strongest and clearest proof of which any moral truth is susceptible, is it just in reason, or lawful in practice to put that truth in abeyance, to mortify it, to retard or annul its operation in the world, because the ignorance, or passions, or interests of some men may be wounded by it, or raise objections to it; or, because, in its operation it may produce not only its own natural good effects, but also become, as Christ himself and his religion have become, an occasion of loss and scandal to many? Your heart, and conscience, and judgment would all recoil from thus keeping "truth captive in injustice." And yet do, I pray you, tell me, or rather tell the public, how you can, consistently with logic or morals, combat the establishment of a legal provision for the Irish poor, by arraying against it the inconveniences, real or imaginary, which you suppose, in your speeches, would result from it, whilst you leave untouched and unanswered, because they are unassailable and unanswerable, the arguments every day and every where employed by me and others,* to demonstrate the just, the natural, the indefeasible rights of the poor to the necessities of life in the land which gave them birth? Do, I pray you, answer this question?

All theory and declamation is vain before right reason and before God, however it may seduce the senate or the multitude, if it be not based on unchangeable justice. When abstract propositions or moral questions are doubtful, we may try the former by an induction to some absurdity, and the latter by showing that, if admitted, it would subvert sound morals; but when a truth is proved *a priori*, when we can point out a clear and necessary connexion between any given proposition and some indubitable principle from which it flows, its truth should be admitted, and all the real genuine consequences of it freely embraced.

Thus, if it be proved, and I contend it has been proved, that from the attributes of God, the nature of man, and the admitted principles upon which all society is founded,—if it be proved from these that the poor, in every civilized state, should be rescued at the public expense from the pressure of extreme want, it is an error against reason, it is a crime against morality, and an impiety against God, to leave them to perish, or to withhold from them the necessities of life; and to abet such withholding, by arguments deduced from abuses which arise not from poor-laws, but from the ignorance, or frailty, or malice of men, is to abet crime, uphold error, and offend God. This is strong language, but it is the only sword that can be drawn from its sheath in the cause of the poor, against a world which has no God but Mammon, or which, to use the cutting phrase of the Apostle, is all placed

* See Cobbett's "Poor Man's Friend," an admirable work; and Mr. Sadler's speeches on this subject, in the House of Commons.

or buried in malignity. I now come to examine your speech, a speech not of many words and little thought, as speeches generally are, but a speech of great ability, in which are compressed and well connected the common-place objections against the English poor-laws.

When the Virgin Mother of Christ, at Cana, in Gallilee, asked her Son to change water into wine to relieve the embarrassment of an excellent family, our Lord replied in substance, "What are their affairs to us?" In advocating the cause of the poor, whom this Lord has made the heirs of his kingdom, I may well apply his thought, and say of the English poor-laws, "What are their abuses to us?" Yes; and I can justly remonstrate with you and say, for what reason, with what candour, with what regard to an honest investigation of the question, can you parade before us the supposed abuses of the English poor laws, when discussing the principle of a legal provision for our poor? In thus acting, you defame our views, you malign our purpose, you misrepresent to the public our whole plan and system of relief for the Irish poor. This is what I deprecate, and is a mode of opposition from which your nature honestly should recoil. But then you know of no one who has hitherto produced a plan of poor-laws for Ireland, which guarded against the abuses you enumerate.

Your avocations, 'tis true, are many, and though endowed with almost super-human powers of application, you may not have read so much as you have thought upon this subject. But leaving out of view the several plans for relieving our poor, devised and published by many eminent individuals within the last few years, all and each of which did provide guards against many abuses prevailing in England, how did it happen that the bill for the relief of the Irish poor, brought into the last Parliament by Wm. Smith O'Brien, Esq., and that introduced by the hon. and patriotic Member for the County Wicklow, to the present Parliament, both printed by order of the House of Commons, escaped your notice? I say nothing of my own views upon this subject as given in evidence before a committee, of which you were a member—views to which you lately professed yourself a convert, and which, if they had any merit, that merit consisted in their keeping altogether clear of the abuses complained of in the English system of poor-laws. Mr. O'Brien's bill kept clear of those abuses; so did that of Mr. Grattan. I speak not of the merits of those bills in any other respect, but they offered you a plan of relief, from which the abuses which terrify you, and I fear affect your judgment, might be or were effectually excluded. Where, then, is the candour, I will not say where is the honesty, of the argument, that no man has hitherto produced to you any plan to which all the common-place objections to the English poor-laws are not applicable?

Your favourite objection, that which you have

most frequently brought forward, or alluded to, is the supposed connexion between poor-laws and the deprivation of female virtue. Here you touch a string that vibrates in the heart of every Irishman; perhaps in few of them more loudly than in mine. But I have once before invited you to point out to me this necessary connexion which you suppose to exist between a system of relief for our poor, such as I contemplate, and the impairing of the public virtue of our females. You have never pointed out this connexion. I believe you could not do it. I have looked at it in all points of view, and could not discover it. Produce your argument, and I undertake to refute it.

Another topic addressed by you to the innate justice of Irishmen, to turn that virtue against the poor, is "that some people are always ready to exercise charity by putting their hands into their neighbours' pockets." What is meant by this? I propose that the solvent inhabitants of every parish elect, annually, a number of rate-payers, to be at once the trustees of the poor and of the parish, with power to compel the absentee, the miser, and the hard-hearted, to share the burdens which now fall exclusively on the benevolent and humane. And you call this "putting them and of a hypocrite into the pocket of his industrious neighbour, and acquitting himself of the theft by pleading 'charity!'" Oh! Justice, what folly—nay, what crimes are committed in thy name!

You object to the English Law of Settlement, and to all the litigation and hardships consequent thereon; and you parade this objection whilst you could recollect, if your memory fail not, that all these hardships and litigation would be avoided by substituting what I proposed as a necessary title to relief, "an industrious residence of three years,"—a title borrowed from the Justinian Code, and for ages past in use in Scotland.

In like manner, you object to what in some parts of England, but only in some parts, is deemed a great abuse, to wit, "the partial payment of wages out of the poor-rate." Mr. Slaney, member for Shrewsbury, will inform you, if he has not done so, that this abuse, if such it be, has arisen in England within the last thirty years, and a clause of fifty words in any act for the relief of our poor, would render the introduction of this abuse into Ireland impossible.

It could find no place in a plan such as that suggested by me, unless it was voluntarily adopted by the rate-payers of a parish. And yet you threaten Ireland with this imaginary scourge!

Again, you depict the horrors of a poor-house, and the abandonment of parents by their children.

I thought you had relinquished this theme, which ought to be left to your retainers, like that other of "drying up the source of benevolence in the Irish heart," if mendicancy, and vagrancy, and all their concomitant frauds,

and vices, and crimes, did not continue to feed the lamp of human charity in the Christian soul.

What man, let me ask, in or out of Ireland, contemplates the erection and support of parish workhouses in this country? You might as well tell the public, that poor-laws would oblige them to erect pagodas for the Indian gods.

But if there be no work-houses or poor-houses in a parish, and that no separation of children from their parents, or of parents from their children can thus be made, will the son or daughter-in-law be less kind or courteous to the aged mother, because the elders of her parish—the witnesses of her well-spent years—may think proper annually to bestow on her a suit of clothing, or afford her some slender comfort in the decline of life?

Ah! to collect the public hatred and precipitate it on an institution, if realized, which would nurse, and aid, and comfort all the virtues of the poor, and stand as a watchman to detect and punish vice, to act thus, whether willingly or unwillingly is an office, which, would to Heaven! you had never discharged.

But then you fear that the poor man, confiding in the legal relief to be secured to him in his old age, would be improvident in his youth, and expend in the ale-house what he now, through fear of future want, is careful to hoard. In England, where poor-laws exist, numberless societies of even the labouring classes, formed for the support of their respective members in times of distress are also found. But in Ireland, where the strong stimulus to hoarding or associating, which you imagine grows out of the present enviable state of our poor, no such society exists. How barren of good then must not your provident principle appear, whereas it bears no fruit. But irony apart. Do, I pray you, reflect a little more on the state of our poor, and the causes of their improvidence and recklessness in youth and manhood. Do not impute to them virtues which they have not. Neither are they to be condemned for vices which are not their own, but which have been engrafted on them. You would wish to see them happy and industrious: and yet you defame by unmerited imputations a system of relief which would give them a country and a home—which would place them under the protection of the law—which would compel, by the strong motive of self-interest, their task-masters to employ and feed them—a system which in fact would raise them from a state of slavery and consequent barbarity to a state of civilization, and to the possession of some human right.

You would, forsooth! relieve the sick by drugs, provide a surgeon, and an asylum for the man whose limb was broken; but you would let the widow perish, and the orphan starve, and the aged to look only to Heaven, or live upon the unbroken sympathies of the Irish heart."

Why, Sir, in such a system I can discover

neither philosophy, nor religion, nor reason of any sort. By what argument do you pretend to recommend it to the common sense of men? Upon what principles of morals is it based? What maxim of right reason does it rest on? What social or political truth is brought into operation by it? It is a day-dream, or an *improvisato* issuing from the tongue, and having in it but a chance thought. The men who, for centuries, have abandoned the poor of Ireland to hunger and despair were consistent; for they wished, if it were possible, to extirpate the race, and setting God and his laws at defiance, they enacted and upheld a system whose root was in hell, and which drew its nourishment from an atmosphere of blood. So Cobbett, and his name is a host, and his reason is unparalleled for strength; he, and those who think with him, are consistent when they would extend the 43d of Elizabeth without any modification to Ireland, and thus give to every man, whether able-bodied or disabled, a right to support. These men also are consistent.

In like manner I am myself, pardon the egotism; I am consistent; I recognise the law of nature which entitles every member of society to be supplied with the necessaries of life. I propose to place in every parish this principle as a sacred deposit in the safe keeping of a committee composed of clergymen, the official guardians of the poor, and of laymen, the owners and guardians of property, with a joint power derived from the whole people, and to be renewed annually, to judge without appeal in all cases of distress, and to minister relief at the common expense, to every soul that thirsts and hungers and can find no support.

Knowing the slender means of the industrious portion of my countrymen, I propose to relieve them of much of their present burden, and place it on the shoulders of the absent or ungrateful owners of the soil; I propose to exclude from relief, except in times of extraordinary distress, those who are able to work, because I know the improvements which can instantly be commenced in the soil and navigation of Ireland would give employment to all her industrious people. And, finally, I propose to enable parishes to assist emigration, because I wish my plan of relief to be permanent, and that, though, for fifty years to come, all our youth could be located usefully on lands to be reclaimed, yet a time will arrive when a well-regulated system of emigration would be the most natural and salutary relief for our coming superabundant population. There is consistency in all this; and, if I be not deceived, there is also in it a peculiar fitness for the state and circumstances of this country. I have stated in my letter to Mr. Spring Rice the arguments brought against me. I stated them candidly and honestly, and I answered them even to your satisfaction. I replied in that little work to every objection advanced by you in your present speech, and yet you adduce those objec-

tions as if you never had heard of the replies to them, of which you yourself approved. Sir, I think even victory is too dearly bought, when to obtain it men have recourse to stratagems not sanctioned by the rules of warfare which nations recognise. 'Tis so in argument. Disprove what we advance, but do not misrepresent our views, or cloud the vulgar vision by irrelevant and oft-refuted objections.

You claim for the poor their legal and equitable portion of church-property, especially of tithes. In this we are agreed, nor is any honest man opposed to us; but even this property of the aged and infirm, of the widow, the stranger, and the orphan, you would take from them to buy drugs and support infirmaries. I would, on the contrary, have it deposited with the committee of each parish, to be expended by them on the poor before any assessment on the property of the parishioners could be levied.

Be yourself the judge between my opinion and your own.

You are unwilling that the question of poor-laws should be introduced, whilst that of reform is undecided. The observation is scarcely just, considering the state of our poor, with a plague impending, and the question of church-property, intimately connected with that of poor-laws, already before Parliament at the instance of the King; but, though other persons should recommend us to "wait awhile," we ought not to hear that hated phrase pronounced by you.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

Carlton, Jan. 6, 1832.

J. DOYLE.

LETTER FROM MR. O'CONNELL TO THE EDITOR OF THE PILOT.

He stood alone—a Renegade!
Against the country he betrayed—
Nor grace, nor pity moved him;
No—
Without a hope from mercy's aid,
And to the last—a RENEGADE.

Merrion-square, 13th January, 1832.

SIR,—I often told you I was the best-abused man in the world; and I believe you will allow that upon no occasion of my life did it ever happen to me to be more accurate in this boast. I am abused by Whigs and Tories—Biblicals and Unitarians—real bigots and self-styled liberals—the press and the pulpit—a Catholic Prelate, and various Orange dignitaries—corporators, declarators, and renegades—lords and knaves—and the non-descript mixture of both. In short, I am the best-abused man in the universe.

I have committed one crime not likely to be forgiven; I have annihilated the cheap reputation for patriotism, which was so easily

acquired by a hollow pretence of being favourable to "our Catholic countrymen." All the advantage of that cant is gone by. I do commit another crime, not to be pardoned in this world or the next: I prefer Ireland to the beloved Anglesea—to the promise-breaking Whigs—nay, to England, and the world.

How glad I am that we are emancipated. There is, indeed, one especial cause which I have to rejoice at emancipation. Whilst we were struggling to attain freedom of conscience, it was exceedingly difficult to obtain support or co-operation. We were forced to hail with rapture every approach to Protestant liberality. We were almost compelled to load with praise every Protestant who joined us for one hour. Why, I myself was driven to give something approaching to approbation to Lord Westmeath. Heaven help me! And as to Lord Cloncurry, I am ashamed to say how often I spoke and wrote praisingly of him. I certainly deserve to be punished for it—and if anything such a man may write against me, could be deemed a punishment, I really do merit that he should attack me, whether he be quite sober, or a little beyond that mark.

Emancipation enabled us to see things in their proper point of view; and that exaggeration which, in the warmth of the contest, was so natural, and almost inevitable, disappeared, and we began to see objects in their real colours and of their real dimensions. The patriotism of the class of Westmeaths totally vanished, and the mongrel virtue of the Cloncurrys exhibited more than one feature of its natural deformity. I really more rejoice at our delivery from false friendship than from political degradation and inferiority.

These reflections bring me to Lord Cloncurry's last attack upon me. It has acquired an undue importance, by my friend Mr. Dwyer condescending to give it any species of reply. It is, after all, nothing more than a tissue of egotistical ribaldry, without wit or humour; showing a great inclination to be scurrilous without the talent to be severe; exhibiting much mortification and ill-temper, with a sovereign contempt for veracity. It is, indeed, a composition in every respect beneath my notice.

Nor should I be justified in throwing away a second thought upon it but for two reasons. The first is, that I myself had given a fictitious importance to the man; and, secondly, that there is about him still remaining, perhaps just so much of pretension to patriotism as may give him the power to continue to do some small mischief to the glorious cause of the constitutional independence of Ireland. He has, indeed, the singular and almost incredible boldness still to call himself a repealer of the Union. There is a specimen of lordly veracity for you!!!

It is quite true that I have for some time felt it my duty to deprive him, as far as I could, of the capacity to injure the cause of justice and liberty in Ireland. It was to me a melancholy reflection that I had contributed to give him that power which I discovered he

was abusing for his own selfish purposes. I determined to take it from him the moment I should detect him in an overt act of national mischief. I had not long to wait for it. The last reform meeting at Kilmainham gave him the first unshackled opportunity to evince the inherent sycophancy of his disposition, to show how hollow were his pretences to Irish patriotism, and how sincere his readiness to join in the cry and yelp in the pack of the long-trained defamers of Ireland.

I immediately took my stand—I canvassed the speech he made at that meeting—I found that it contained a most unfounded charge against myself; but, what was indeed infinitely worse, that it included a deplorable calumny against the people of Ireland—of nothing less than a proneness to assassination. I showed that it praised *all, all* that had been done in Ireland for the last year, and threw all the weight of the speaker into the scale of the proclaimers; yeomanry-armers—prosecutors—Orange Lord Lieutenant-makers—and Irish independence-haters, of the present administration.

It is quite familiar that any delinquent detected in his crime, avenges himself by pouring vituperation upon his captors. Accordingly, Lord Cloncurry assails me with all the ill temper, and in precisely the same language, and the very same style, that one would expect only from a pickpocket, caught in the act, or a detected practitioner of petty larceny.

Amidst the figures of an eloquence of that description, his letter accuses me of having “insinuated false charges against him.”

This is a total mistake—I insinuated nothing—I made direct and pointed charges—and these charges, instead of being false, were perfectly true and accurate in all their particulars.

This, after all, is the important point in controversy between us. Lord Cloncurry was, in my opinion, endeavouring to delude the people, and to practise on public credulity, for the most mischievous purposes. He might succeed, if his genial and real motives were not exposed. It was on this account alone that I made my charges. He says those charges are false—I assert that they are literally true. Let the public judge between us. This is the important, indeed the vital part of the case.

My charges were these: I said to him—“Cloncurry, you can no longer deceive me; you can no longer deceive the public; I thought your patriotism the patriotism of principle; I find it was merely the patriotism of position. Cloncurry, you shall no longer deceive the public.”

Your position in society alone compelled you, most reluctantly as I now believe, to join the popular cause; you were shunned by the persons in power, who believed you guilty of the sin of loving Ireland. I am now convinced they wronged you much. Had they but thought it worth their while to adopt the

course Lord Anglesea has followed towards you, they would have found, and Ireland would have seen, without regret, upon what cheap terms you might have been purchased. But some men in power hated; others, I care not why, despised you, and all avoided and shunned you.

In this position you were driven to join the ranks of the people; you really had no alternative. You were surrounded by a few sycophants; you had but one disinterested friend in your political career; I sustained you with all the energy of my faculties and all the weight of my popularity;—it is meet you should reward me with all the mean malignity of a pitiful and shabby ingratitude.

But that, in point of fact, your patriotism was mere pretence—that it arose from position and not from principle, is demonstrated from this, that the moment the castle gates were open to you—the instant an opponent of Irish freedom and of the first principles of popular liberty gave you an opportunity to desert, with a prospect of gratifying your vanity and indulging your ambition, that very instant you abandoned your old colours; you struck the green flag; you donned the Windsor uniform; you deserted your old allies; and, with all the rancour of a renegade, you persecute, as far as your capacity—bless the mark!—allows, those who alone contributed to give you that importance which induced the Irish government—I may, indeed, say, enabled them—to offer you the bait; (bribe would, perhaps, be more apposite, though not quite so genteel a word)—of an English peerage.

I arraigned that desertion—I charged you with it as a political crime of the first magnitude—I pointed out the contrast between your former career, of more than ordinary popular excitement, and your present complaisant servility—I showed that you, at least, were without excuse in becoming the pliant instrument of any administration.

I showed that you were substantially the most violent of us all; you were an uncompromising radical of the first water. Annual parliaments, vote by ballot, universal suffrage, first principles of popular liberty, no compromise, no mitigation; nay, no forgiveness for those who would presume to compromise, or to look for substantial freedom through any mitigation or postponement of what you called first principles.

When we were violent, you actually approached to the seditious. When we were more intemperate, still you out-capped the climax, by boasting (as you, indeed, did at the last Kilmainham meeting) of your oath of a United Irishman, and thus approached to the precincts of high treason.

As to the repeal of the Union, why you were the most decided, unremitting, inveterate repealer. Nothing but the repeal would, could, or should save Ireland. Everything was trivial; everything was contemptible. Emancipation was insignificant; reform of little importance. The repeal, and nothing

short of the repeal, was your watchword and your cry.

Cloncurry—alas for poor human nature! You were treacherous and insincere then, as you are both scurrilous and sycophantic now. I will demonstrate the extent of your treachery before I have done.

But thus you put yourself forward; decided radical—out-and-out reformer—exaggerated democrat—inveterate repealer.

And yet—and yet—the moment Lord Anglesea arrived, you abandoned all your professions—you threw overboard all your principles—you flung your affected love of Ireland to the winds, and you deserted bag and baggage. Joy be with you!

Lord Anglesea proclaimed tranquil and constitutional meetings; you applauded the beloved Anglesey. He proclaimed again—you joined his private and public parties. He proclaimed again—you feasted him in honour of his proclamations. Well done, radical!

He named an able man, but of the high Orange and exclusive class of the highest order, Mr. Joy, to the important office of Chief Baron—you clapped you hands with delight. He selected Mr. Doherty, who prosecuted for Borris-o'-kane and Doneraile, to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, you shouted for joy. He selected Mr. Blackburn from the ranks of the inveterate opposers of religious liberty, to be his Attorney-General—nothing could exceed your pleasure. Well done, reformer!

Lord Anglesea carried the spirit of the Algerine Act beyond its letter; he caused your old friends and companions to be arrested by the common thief-takers, and dragged, as if they were felons, to the receptacles of the most depraved criminals—you still bedaubed the beloved Anglesea with the slime of your praise. Well done, democrat!

Lord Anglesea prosecuted those who peaceably and tranquilly sought for the repeal; he pressed the prosecution with a seal and alacrity deserving neither of approbation or imitation; his attorney struck off the jury-list the names of Mr. Guinness, a Governor of the Bank, and of Alderman M'Kenny. This was so just and liberal, upon the trial of repealers, that you, as of course, continued your flattery, your praise, your support of the prosecuting Government. Well done, repealer!

But my charges against you were not confined to your conduct during the promotions (these, indeed, still continue), proclamations, and prosecutions. You have continued, and you do continue to this day, the consistent renegade of every principle you before advocated.

Lord Anglesea re-armed the Orange yeomanry—he is still your beloved Anglesea. The carcasses of the slaughtered people strewed the streets of Castlepollard; not one of the police who shed that blood has been dismissed from that day to this—he is still your beloved Anglesea. The plain of Newtownbarry flowed with human blood; a massacre as deplorable

as was ever wept over by human eye was perpetrated in the face of day. There is not one of that—even of that yeomanry disarmed. Captain Graham is still in the commission of the peace, and yet Lord Anglesea is your beloved Anglesey!

Lord Lorton is Lieutenant of Roscommon; Lord Enniskillen is Lieutenant of Fermanagh; Lord Caledon of Tyrone; Lord Forbes of Longford; Lord Wicklow of Wicklow. Why need I continue? Did you ever before hear of an administration that had the combined weakness and wickedness to give power to their enemies, and not only insult but injure their supporters? Yet this is just the administration for you to support.

Are you ignorant—you cannot be—of the current of appointments in the church? Of that, indeed, you cannot be ignorant. There is one liberal appointment of which you cannot be ignorant. The living of Navan is worth, they say, from 800*l.* to 900*l.* a-year. I hope it is worth more. A worthy gentleman, your brother-in-law has lately got it; but you, assuredly you are the most disinterested of the human race—and yet do you know, I shrewdly conjecture that if you had continued a repealer, like myself, the merits of your brother-in-law—and they are considerable—would not have been discovered.

But why should I mince the matter? Is it for nothing you cringe and fawn on power, and traduce the friends of Ireland? No; you have had your own BRIBE; an English peerage is no small matter to those amongst whom you live and move. You should really keep yourself quiet. Remember the homely adage—“Eat your pudding, slave, and hold your tongue.”

You have no right to assail unbribed men. We may be mistaken, but we certainly are not earning the wages of our political prostitution. Look to yourself, Lord Cloncurry. You, at least, (I speak moderately,) are *not* disinterested.

You talk of my forcing myself on the government. Of that more presently. I say it was I forced you on the government. It was I got you your English peerage. This may be called a vain boast. There is no vanity at all in it; on the contrary, it is a thing I am heartily ashamed of. Neither is it at all a boast; it is literally true. Why, I appeal to any man of common sense—I even appeal to yourself, in a calm and dispassionate moment, and, making every allowance for your own self-love, I venture to ask even you, what there was or is about you, to render it *safe*—I go that length—or, at least, to render it prudent—in other words, what is it that could possibly induce the British minister to give you a British peerage? How could he select you from amongst the Irish peers, to give you an English peerage? How could he pass over so many high and historic names? How could he pass over so many ancient families, and persons of stainless lives, to dive down to the bottom of the catalogue, and fish you up

from the miry depth? How? Lord Cloncurry, how? Why, is it not as plain as the sun at noon day, that the popular party gave you a fictitious importance; an erroneous and fallacious elevation? We made others imagine that which we were ourselves beginning to doubt, that you were of consequence to the popular cause; and, upon the old principle of BRIBING OFF everything that might serve the cause of Irish independence; upon the equally familiar practice of creating a division in the camp of those deemed the friends of Ireland, it became safe and prudent, and worldly wise, to give you your present elevation amidst proud England's proud peers.

At the fatal period of the Union, one of the lucky family of the Alexanders was determined, by cogent reasons, quite intelligible to you, Lord Cloncurry, to vote for the Union. He was surrounded by many friends, who anxiously implored him not to be a party to that suicidal act. It was all in vain. They argued with him; they showed him the misery, the degradation, the ruin, that measure must bring on Ireland; he continued obdurate. At length one of them, almost in tears, exclaimed, "And after all, my dear Harry, will you, oh! will you SELL YOUR COUNTRY?"

"Sell my country!" replied Harry, "sell my country! aye, that I will, and RIGHT GLAD I AM TO HAVE A COUNTRY TO SELL!!!"

You, my Lord, are not so candid as poor Harry; but we gave you a country to sell, and right rapidly and unequivocally have you sold it. Shall I now congratulate you on receiving the wages of your sin and shame?

Before I proceed to brush off, with light and fastidious hand, the contents of that vial of filth which your letter contained, I have deemed it right thus to trace our quarrel to its origin, and to show that if I gave you popular support whilst you were the apparent friend of Ireland, and even lingered by your side, whilst your desertion of all public principle was not quite notorious, so have I abandoned you to the contempt and disgust of our countrymen the moment you took the last decisive step, that left no possibility of return. This, as I said before, you did at the late reform meeting at Kilmainham, where you placed yourself in a situation beyond the pale of political redemption. You there basely—I can use no softer word—trauced the people of Ireland, as being assassins; and you, with equal injustice, covered with the slaver of your promiscuous praise all that this administration has done, committed, and omitted in Ireland.

From these charges you have not defended yourself. In that you showed your wisdom—it would have been impossible for you to have attempted a defence, without exposing your conduct to still greater reprobation. Instead of doing so, you endeavour, according to the French phrase —; you call me a Carlist, and you will, therefore, pardon a Gallic idiom —; you endeavour to "give the change," and, to escape under the cover of the storm

you have striven to raise against me—but it is a storm in a mere puddle, and, although it may scatter some dirt, it is quite incapable of doing me any permanent injury.

I think it will be admitted that there never was a more violent, vulgar, and almost rabid attack than that made upon me in your letter to Mr. Dwyer. The language was of the most coarse kind—it was perfect scolding—and yet, you are just the man to exclaim that I am making use of abusive language against you. You and others will exclaim against the necessity, and, indeed, inevitable (I would avoid it if I possibly could) harshness of the language of this, which, under the circumstances, I distinctly assert is too temperate a reply.

I will, however, analyse your ribaldry in another letter—and I confidently claim from my countrymen to anticipate my triumphant refutation of every charge that ribaldry involves; and, indeed, I will show that much of that which to the eye of a courtly sycophant appears a crime, is an object of merit and approbation to the independent and the good.

But before I go into my contemptuous, but competent defence, I must establish another charge I brought against you. It is that of your deliberate treachery to the Catholic Association. I shall demonstrate that you joined that body for the purpose of betraying it, and of paralysing and rendering abortive our exertions in favour of religious freedom. I pledge myself to render, as plain as the sun at noon day, this your treachery and duplicity.

I thought, at the time, that your conduct was the result of mere folly, or of the indulgence of a puerile but honest vanity. Your recent conduct has, however, put that matter out of all doubt. It has not only changed the appearance and colour of your conduct then, but it has, at the same time, proved substantially, and indeed to demonstration, that you deliberately aimed the most deep and dangerous stab at the vitals of the cause of civil and religious liberty in Ireland.

The second letter shall contain the full development of your scheme to prevent the possibility of our attaining emancipation. My third will, with as much of gaiety and gladness as of indignant scorn, repel and refute the charges you have so indecently brought against me.

It is true that it is an object to those who are for refusing justice to Ireland, to lessen my influence by assailing my character. I never started for Parliament, that I was not just at that actual moment pelted by all manner of threats, insinuations, and calumnies. You, my noble Lord, I do heartily defy. Whilst I was ignorant of your real impulses, you might have been dangerous. Believe me, you are now quite innoxious.

If you had diminished my utility, you would have earned another step in the peerage, and earned it amply. As it is, you only expose yourself and your employers. They have shot their bolt. The proverb says, "The un-

wise man's bolt is soon shot." Their quiver is exhausted; invention of a higher order of malignity than yours must be resorted to in their next effort. For my part, my consolation and my pride is, that every attack of this kind is a new proof to me that I am deemed at least honest and sincere in the cause of Ireland.

For you, my Lord, I commend you to your "renegade's" pillow. You have violently, and in vulgar language, traduced an honest man. It was part and parcel of your compact. Enjoy all its advantages until you have the honour of bearing again from me.

I have but one real cause of anger with you; it is that you did not assail me when I had something more of leisure to reply. Really, my good Lord, it was unkind to trespass on the scanty moments that are left me. However, hurried as I am, I will endeavour to complete your business before my departure.

I am, Mr. Editor,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

PUNISHMENTS OF RICH AND POOR COMPARED.

(From the Morning Chronicle, Dec. 26, 1831.)

"In the corrupted currents of this world,
Offence's gilded hand may shove by Justice."
SHAKESPEARE.

EARL MAR has been convicted of the assault of discharging a gun in the direction of a person named Oldham, with whom his Lordship had had a very abusive altercation. The Judges on the occasion made a prodigious parade of the evenness of justice. Lord Gillies observed—

"This is a distressing and painful case: a case peculiar in its circumstances, and in the high rank of the parties. Here is a young nobleman distinguished for high honour and gallantry—the representative of one of our most ancient noble families—convicted of a crime!"

We thus see that distinction for high honour and gallantry is in no degree disturbed by conviction of ruffianly conduct.

The sentence, after all this clucking, was two months' imprisonment, and security for 5,000*l.* to keep the peace for five years. We will not say that the punishment is too lenient, for we advocate moderate punishments, and think the tendency to be corrected is to excess; but compare this punishment of an Earl in Scotland with the punishments common in England. Children, for stealing a few apples, have been sentenced to a longer term of imprisonment! On the other hand, the son of a distinguished conservative peer, one of the personages so vehemently anxious about property, and another slip of quality, who amused themselves by driving about the neighbourhood of London, and breaking glasses or wounding persons with discharges from an air-gun—recklessly risking the destruction of

sight, and inflicting painful wounds, as well as causing much terror—these patrician offenders were fined ten pounds each by the magistrates, and discharged! The hire for post-horses for each day's pleasure in cruelty must have cost them half that sum. How different would have been the sentence on a poor ruffian for the same offence—how different *will* be the punishment of offences of the like wanton sort at Bristol! And of this class are the conservators of property, and the declaimers against outrage—the Harrowbys and the Bathursts, whose names are borne by the gentlemen to whom we have alluded.—*Examiner.*

COTTON ALMANACKS.

(From the Morning Chronicle, Dec. 24, 1831.)

GUILDHALL. — Yesterday, Mr. RICHARD CARLILE, junr. was brought before Mr. Alderman KELLY, &c., charged with having printed and published almanacks on cotton, at his house in Fleet-street.

Mr. ALLEY appeared on behalf of the Commissioners of Stamps.

Henry Goddard, a police officer of Mail-borough-street, deposed to his having bought two dozen of these almanacks on the 18th of December, at 5*d.* each.

James Wintle and others deposed to their having bought similar almanacks from Mr. Carlile at his shop.

Mr. ALLEY, on behalf of the prosecution, referred principally to the 9th of Anne, ch. 23, sect. 27, which imposes a duty on parchment, vellum, and paper, and a penalty of 10*l.* on every one evading or infringing the act—he referred to the 10th of Anne, cap. 19, sect. 172, which principally mitigates the penalty, and modifies some particulars of the former act—and to the 30th of George 3, cap. 85, sect. 4, which imposes a similar duty and penalty not only on the parchment, and vellum, and paper, but on all other materials used for a similar purpose. There were 24 informations against Mr. Carlile, so that the penalty would be 240*l.*

On behalf of the defendant, Mr. HIBBERT contended, that the information, or description in the summons was false, and that the defendant did not reside in the parish specified. This objection was overruled; for though a misstatement might be invalidated in an indictment, it was nugatory in an information. Mr. Hibbert then contended, that the act specified printers, and that Mr. Carlile was not a printer; besides, he was a minor, and was only employed by another. These objections being also overruled, Mr. Hibbert pleaded the general issue, and contended, that the 1st of William IV., cap. 17, entitled "An Act to repeal the Duties and Drawbacks on Printed Calicoes, Linens, and Stuffs," did, to all intents and purposes, exempt Mr. Carlile; for it was in that act particularly specified, that from the 1st of March last, all the duties

and drawbacks on all calicoes, muslins, linens, and stuffs, whether printed, or stained, or painted, or dyed, in Great Britain, shall cease, and be no longer chargeable; and that this act was applicable in the present case; for the almanacks were each a piece, and only a piece, of printed calico, that is, a figured stuff made of cotton and other materials mixed, and therefore, according to the strict meaning and letter of the act, the almanacks were not amenable to any duties or drawbacks, and the act is a general act, without any exception.

Mr. ALLEY contended that the act was inapplicable in the present instance; for that act related solely to the duties of excise, but the present action was on the subject and duties of stamps, and there was no law that exempted printed almanacks (or any matter subjected to the liability of stamp duty) from the operation of that act. The duties of excise and of stamps are different, and subjected to very different regulations.

Mr. ALLEY was continuing the examination of other witnesses who had purchased the almanacks, some of which were produced before the magistrate, but he suddenly ceased when he had proved his case, that the almanacks had been sold by Mr. Carlile, and that they were amenable to the stamp, though not to the excise duties. He said, his object was not so much for the penalties (which, in the present case, he would make amount to 240*l.* from the twenty-four almanacks), but to stop the practice of vending or publishing contrary to the laws. And, as he believed Mr. Carlile was in error, from supposing that the almanacks, as cotton or printed calicoes, were exempted from the stamp, as they had been exempted from the excise duties, he was willing, on his own responsibility, to stop the proceedings and informations at present, provided young Carlile would promise to stop publishing and vending them. But, in the interim, he considered it necessary that Mr. Carlile should petition the Commissioners of Stamps to that effect, and he himself would not interfere in any manner to prevent any leniency or exemption being final.

On the promise of Mr. Carlile not to vend personally, Mr. ALLEY said, it was necessary that the publications should not be vended at all, either by himself personally, or by any employed by him.

Mr. HIBBERT contended Mr. Carlile was a minor, and could not employ, particularly as he was only employed himself; and he could not personally be responsible for the publication by any other in the shop.

Mr. ALLEY said that he suspended the prosecution solely on the condition that the publication would be suppressed. If it was ever renewed, the present informations would be renewed, and the consequent penalties exacted; but he hoped Mr. Carlile, *sen.*, would have the discretion and good sense to forbear publishing when he finds the forbearance now extended to him, and that in future he must

be aware that he is breaking the law by publishing such almanacks. With the permission, therefore, of the magistrates, he would not issue a distrain warrant for a fortnight, and would suspend the proceedings *ad interim*.

Mr. Carlile was then discharged without bail on these conditions.

No. VII.

HISTORY

OF THE

REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

(Continued from No. 8, col. 508. Vol. 73.)

134. Thus were the Whigs once more turned out, or rather kept out, on the barren common, while their rivals were fattening in the dank pastures of war and taxation. But, PERCEVAL had left several very troublesome legacies behind him. He had, indeed, left a very valuable legacy to his successors; namely, THE BOOK, and all the secrets connected with the affair of the ill-treated Princess of Wales. It has been before shown, that it was this grand secret that first made him minister; that it was it which preserved his place when the PRINCE became regent, with limited powers; that it still made him prime minister when the Prince became possessed of all the kingly powers, and that (general convulsion out of the question) it must have made him minister for the joint lives of himself and the Prince Regent, whether he were regent or king. But this secret was not less valuable to his successors than to himself. They, in stepping into the possession of his power, stepped also into the possession of the source of that power. The PRINCESS was still alive; she might, at any day, be brought forward; there was, as we shall see by-and-by, a very general claim putting forward for her by the people, who were beginning to insist that she ought to be styled the PRINCESS REGENT, and to hold her courts accordingly. If, therefore, LIVERPOOL, ELDON, SIDMOUTH, and the rest of the PERCEVAL administration, had been turned out at this time, they might have joined the people, brought out all the history of the transactions of 1806 and 1807, and insisted upon her being acknowledged as PRINCESS REGENT, and upon her holding her courts and drawing-rooms; things which the other party could not do, because it was that party who had instituted the investigation against her, who had refused her justice; who had advised the late king, first not to receive her at court, and afterwards not to place her upon an equal footing with the rest of his family, and who, in short, had been the instruments in the work of her degradation. This, therefore, was the true cause of the retaining of the PERCEVAL administration in power, and of the exaltation of LIVERPOOL; benefits which

they exclusively owed to the valuable legacy left them by this little hard-twisted lawyer.

135. But he left them other legacies, which, had they been men of sense and of love for their country, they would have shuddered at receiving. Amongst these legacies was the war, which immediately afterwards commenced between England and the United States of America; a war the most unjust on our part that ever nation was engaged in, and bringing upon this country, in its result, disgrace such as England never had before to endure, and followed by consequences such as will require all the wisdom, all the talent, all the courage, all the public virtue, of every description, that England can command, to prevent those consequences from finally being fatal to her power.

136. This is one of the great events of the regency and reign of GEORGE the FOURTH. The war which terminated in the independence of these States, laid the foundation of all the calamities with which the nation was afflicted during the reign of GEORGE the THIRD. That war was unjust in its principle, and in the conduct of it most disgraceful. This war was equally unjust; its progress and consequences were of the greatest importance to the country; and, therefore, the *real grounds* of this war ought here to be placed clearly upon record. From the commencement of the unjust and unnecessary war against the Republicans of France, disputes between England and the United States had arisen relative to the rights of the parties on the seas. The success of England against France depended, in a great measure, on the power of the former to intercept and destroy the commerce of the French. By her navy, she soon accomplished nearly the destruction of the French naval force, and also of their mercantile marine; but the French do not, as we do, depend so much on operations on the waters. Their trade forms a much smaller part, in proportion, than ours does, of the resources of the country; having a cold climate, and a hot climate, and medium climate, all within the same *ring fence*, they have not that need of external commerce that we have; they do not so much depend upon imports and exports; but still they want some outlet for their produce in exchange for various commodities, without which, in the present state of the world, great confusion must be produced in the affairs of the nation. Besides this, France is now-and-then visited with that great calamity, a scarcity of bread, which can receive alleviation by no other means than those afforded by other countries, which other countries cannot come to their relief except by the means of ships. One of these calamities was experienced in France in the year 1793, just at the breaking out of the war between this country and that. The Americans, having prodigious quantities of corn and of flour to spare, sent hundreds of ship loads to France, a great part of which were intercepted by English ships of war, and privateers, brought

into England, where the cargoes were detained, paying to the owners pretty much what our government thought proper. This was an extension of the rights of belligerents against neutrals, such as had never been heard of before; the PRESIDENT of AMERICA had issued a proclamation, declaring those States neutral; but our government, whenever it suited its purpose, set that neutrality at defiance. The same thing was done with regard to the maritime commerce of the United States in their intercourse with the French West India islands as long as they remained in possession of the French. When Holland, owing to the invasion of the French, was compelled to join in the war against England, with neutrals trading with it and with its islands, were treated in the same manner. The French were carrying on a sweeping and successful war upon the continent, and England the same sort of war upon the seas.

137. The United States remonstrated; negotiations endless were going on; their policy was to remain at peace if possible; but though they did not go to war, they incessantly remonstrated against this disregard of the laws of neutrality, keeping on all the while, making preparations for their defence in case of the dire necessity arriving.

138. They acknowledged, and I trust they and all the world will always be compelled to acknowledge, our right, when at war, to stop merchant ships on the high seas, to search them, to ascertain whether they be bound to our enemy's port, and, if so, whether they have on board articles contraband of war, that is to say, arms, ammunition, horse-furniture, and other things used in war; and, if bound to a port which we are blockading, if they have provisions on board; and in such cases, to take out the provisions, to take out the munitions of war, to bring the ship into port for that purpose, in some cases to condemn both ship and cargo; and, in all cases, where the property on board be found to be the property of an enemy, to seize and confiscate that property. Further, the rights of a belligerent with regard to neutrals extend to a prohibition, after due notice to enter any port of any enemy of that belligerent which is placed in a state of efficient blockade.

139. These are the rights of England upon the seas when she is at war; and these rights she can never give up, and can never relax in the enforcement of, without a surrender of her character and her power.

140. But far were our ministers from being content with the enjoyment of these rights. BUONAPARTE had issued two decrees, one dated at Berlin, and the other at Milan, prohibiting all British goods from entering any port under the control of France, which then embraced almost the whole of the continent; and, not only British goods, but any goods of any country coming last from any British port at home or abroad. In what was called retaliation for this, our ministers declared all the ports of all the countries under the con-

of France, to be in a state of blockade, which was, to be sure, the most monstrous stretch of the rights of a belligerent ever before dreamed of in the world. For many years the Americans endured this. By false papers, by sham certificates of origin, by clandestine invoices, by licenses obtained here in England; by one means or another, they contrived to carry on still a lucrative commerce, always, however, protesting, always remonstrating, and frequently menacing, from the lips or the pens of the negotiators. At last, however, our ministers began to do that for which the BERLIN and MILAN decrees could afford no excuse, and for which nothing could offer a palliation; that is to say, they began to impress seamen on board the American ships on the high-seas, under the pretence that they were the subjects of the king and deserters from his service. If they had confined these impressments to British subjects, the thing would have been a cruel novelty; but this was impossible in a case where all spoke the same language, all had the same manners, all were of the same nation, except by the mere accident of locality and birth. English naval officers, seldom remarkable for moderation in the exercise of their power, being once authorised to stop American ships on the high-seas, and to take British subjects out of them; and having the physical power to take out of them whom and as many as they pleased; these officers, being thus authorised, would, as a matter of course, consider every man whom they wished to take, to be a British subject; and under this pretence they impressed hundreds upon hundreds of native Americans, compelled them to serve on board English ships of war, had them flogged for disobedience or neglect, placed them in battle like the rest of the sailors, where many of them were wounded and many of them killed.

141. This was too much, not perhaps for the cool politicians of the American government to endure, but too much for the *people of America* to endure. The people took the matter in hand; letters and certificates from impressed American seamen were authenticated and published, containing all the horrid details of the cruelties that had been endured by the suffering parties; the American newspapers were filled with these blood-stirring details, and the whole country, from one end to the other, cried "*War, loss of commerce, invasion, extermination, rather than endure this!*" The American government did every thing in its power to assuage this anger: it called upon the people to wait the result of the negotiations then going on upon the subject. During these negotiations, they offered terms so fair that it fills one with indignation to think that this country had to suffer from a war in consequence of a rejection of those terms. They offered to pass an act, imposing a penalty on any American captain that should take on board a British subject as a seaman; they offered to agree that any British officer,

civil or military, duly authorised by the government, should be permitted to go on board of any mercantile American ship in any port, whether within the British dominions, or any other dominions, and cause to be taken any American seaman before a magistrate, being any usual magistrate of the place or port; and if that magistrate determined that the man claimed was a British subject, they agreed to give him up at once on the bare decision of that magistrate; but they expressed their determination to encounter all hazards rather than suffer foreigners to stop their ships on the high-seas, and to take out of them persons of any description whatsoever under pretence of those persons being foreign subjects. Nothing could be more reasonable or more just than this; yet the proposition was haughtily rejected by those insolent and feeble-minded creatures, who were afterward beaten single-handed in a war of aggression, of invasion, and extermination, waged against this free and happy people under this wise and moderate government.

142. These terms having been rejected, the congress passed an act, a little while before the death of PERCEVAL, as a sort of prelude to the war, still hoping, however, to avoid war. This act explains clearly, and in a few words, the grounds of this memorable war; and it is of vast importance that the English people should always have it to refer to as a ground of accusation against the ministry and the parliament that involved them in this war, and thereby not only added seventy millions to the enormous debt, but actually created that American navy, with which we shall one day have to cope, and which we must finally overcome, or surrender that sovereignty of the seas, without which our country is England only in mere name. The reading of this law explains the whole matter: here are the grounds of complaint, here is the remedy, short of war: the remedy did not succeed, and war was the consequence.

A Bill for the Protection, Recovery, and Indemnification of American Seamen.

The preamble states that His Britannic Majesty has caused to be impressed out of the ships of the United States, sailing on the high-seas, under the American flag, divers liege citizens of said States, and hath compelled them to serve on board the ships of war of Great Britain, and to fight against the United States, and that numbers of them are yet detained.—It is therefore enacted, that from and after the 4th day of June next, any person or persons who shall impress any native seaman of the United States sailing on the high-seas or in any port, river, haven, basin, or bay, under pretence or colour of a commission from any foreign power, shall for every such offence, be adjudged a pirate and felon, and on conviction, suffer death; and the trial in such case shall be had where the offender is apprehended or may be first brought.—That it shall be law-

ful for any seaman, sailing under the flag of the United States, on any person or persons attempting to impress him, to repel by force; and if any person so attempting to impress said seaman shall be killed, maimed, or wounded, such seaman, on the general issue, may give the special matter in evidence, which is hereby declared a perfect justification. That on information being given to the President of the United States proving satisfactorily to him, that any citizen of the United States shall have been impressed, and shall be yet detained, or shall hereafter be impressed, to cause the most rigorous retaliation on any of the subjects of said Government taken on the high-seas, or within the British territories, whom he is hereby authorised to cause to be taken and seized for that purpose, any treaty to the contrary notwithstanding.—That any seaman, heretofore or hereafter impressed, may attach, in the hands of any British subject, or in the hands of any debtor of any British subject, a sum equal to thirty dollars per month for the whole time he shall have been detained on board any British vessel or vessels.—That the President of the United States may capture, by way of reprisal, as many British subjects, on the high-seas or within the British territories, as may be equal to the impressed American seamen in the possession of Great Britain, and by a cartel to exchange the same.—That the President, whenever sufficient testimony shall be produced that the commander of any public armed vessel of any foreign nation shall have taken or impressed from on board any ship or other vessel of the United States, while at any port or place not within the jurisdiction of such foreign nation, or while on her passage to or from any port or place any seaman, mariner, or other person not being in the military service of an enemy of such foreign nation, may prohibit by proclamation, every person residing within the United States or its territory, from affording aid, succour, or provisions, of whatever kind, to such ship or vessel; and any pilot or other person residing within the United States, who shall, after such prohibition shall have been made known, and before the same shall be revoked, afford aid, succour, or provisions, as aforesaid, to such ship or vessel, and be thereof convicted, shall be sentenced to be imprisoned not exceeding one year, and fined not exceeding one thousand dollars.—That from and after the 4th of June next, whenever full and sufficient testimony shall be produced, that the commanders of public armed vessels of any foreign nation have impressed or taken from on board any ship or vessel within the jurisdiction of the United States, or while on her passage to or from any port or place, any seaman, mariner, or other person, the President may prohibit, by proclamation, the landing from on board any ship or other vessel of the foreign nation (whose commander or commanders have offended as aforesaid) any goods, ware, or merchandise within any of the ports of the

United States or the territories of the United States.

143. This act of the congress was absolutely forced upon them by the people. All the mercantile part of the congress appeared to be dead to every sentiment of public spirit; and the members of the Eastern States, as the Americans call them, but which lie in the Northern part of the country, were almost all hostile to the act, and hostile to every measure of resistance against the acts of our ministry. They had been plotting for years for the purpose of counteracting the federal, or general, government in every step which it had taken for the defence of the citizens of America against the arbitrary acts sanctioned by the English ministry. The great cities in America are all great places of external commerce; the merchants are all connected with merchants and manufacturers in England by ties of interest. The commerce of America was, and is, more than half of the whole carried on to and from the English dominions; the English merchants are the creditors of those in America, generally their lenders, and very frequently an apparently great merchant there is little more than an agent carrying on trade, and apparently owning ships in virtue of the money, and, in great part, for the benefit of the English merchant who is the real owner of the money and of the ships. Therefore the merchants in America, particularly in the north, whence come the ships to carry on the greater part of the external commerce, were all decidedly against a war with England, and against all resistance of the acts of her ministry committed against American citizens; for, in fact they looked upon England as their country much more than they did America, but not so with the people at large; and it was a curious thing to behold that it was the farmers and labourers and country people generally, that demanded vengeance on those who had impressed and tyrannised over the maritime citizens. It was on them, too, that even the commercial cities had to rely for defence after the war broke out; thus verifying the prediction of Mr. JEFFERSON, namely, that if ever the country should be placed in a state of peril, it must rely for its safety on the arms of the tillers of the ground.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

GEEVES, T., Hendon, Middlesex, hay-seller.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

THOMAS, R., Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALCOCK, W., Atherstone, Warwickshire, victualler.
ALCOCK, S., Birmingham, hat-manufac.
BARCLAY, A., York, bookseller.
BATSON, W., Burringham, Lincolnshire, corn-merchant.
BAILEY, G., Mina-road, Old Kent-road, carpenter.
BATTIN, J. and J., Aston, Warwickshire, corn-dealers.
BROOKS, J., Dallington, Northamptonshire, carpenter.
BURNELL, B., Leeds, linen-draper.
COCKRILL, W., East Butterwick, Lincolnshire, corn-factor.
CRESSWELL, T., Cross-lane, St. Mary-at-Hill, fish-factor.
DEAN, H., Nelson-street, Greenwich, tobacconist.
HOUGHTON, J. and J. Watts, Soho-square, drapers.
INGLE, J., Beverley, Yorkshire, tanner.
JONES, E., Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire, innkeeper.
JEFFERIES, Leeds, worsted-stuff-manufac.
KIRBY, T., King's Lynn, Norfolk, grocer.
LOFTUS, J., Bristol, wholesale druggist.
MUSGROVE, S., High-street, Shadwell and Rotherhithe, boot and shoe-manufacturer.
NUTLEY, L., Great Newport-street, Long-acre, boot and shoemaker.
RIDGWAY, G. and J., Manchester, lacemen.
RIDLEY, R., Brighton, hatter.
SANDERSON, C., Rotherham, Yorkshire, iron-plate-manufacturer.
STEPHENS, T., London-road, linen-draper.
STARKE, R., Borough-market, builder.
WATKINSON, M., Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, innkeeper.
WILCOX, W., Walcot, Somersetshire, chair-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DODD, T., Perth, candle-maker.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BURKE, J., Greenwich, licensed-victualler.
GRAVES, Upper East Smithfield, master-mariner.
HEAWARD, J., Hillhouse, Lancashire, farm.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

THOMAS, R., Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer, from Jan. 17 to Jan. 31.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LIPIN, F., Fleet-street, stationer.

BANKRUPTS.

WITHERWAITE, J., Liverpool, fruiterer.
WILKINS, J., Blackman-street, victualler.

CHILDS, J., Leicester-square, jeweller.
CLARK, B. T., Lakenham, Norwich, corn-merchant.
DEADMAN, J., Stapleton-road, Gloucestershire, victualler.
DEAN, J. F., Drakelow-mill-farm, Derbyshire, miller.
HELSEBY, A. and J. Cleworth, Salford, Lancashire, plumbers.
LLOYD, J., Leeds, merchant.
MINSHULL, W., Cholsey, Berkshire, cattle-dealer.
PARKE, T., Westbromwich, Staffordshire, plumber.
THORP, I., Reddish-mills, Lancashire, calico-printer.
TREACY, M., King-street, Cheapside, straw-hat manufacturer.
WIGAN, J., Macclesfield, silk-manufacturer.
WILKS, J., Birmingham, linen-draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

EWING, J., Newhouse, Ayrshire, farmer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JANUARY 16.
—Our supplies since this day se'nnight of English wheat and barley, English and Scotch peas, and English seeds, limited; of English malt and foreign linseed, great; of Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, as also English, Irish, and foreign flour, Irish and Scotch oats, and, with above exception, foreign seed, good.
This day's market was, very soon after its commencement, numerously attended by both London and country buyers; and there seemed to be more spirit in its trade than has been on any market day that has preceded it for some months past. As, however, the sellers aimed at advanced, the buyers at reduced, prices, the trade was, a short time after its commencement, rather dull; but an increased number of buyers soon induced those who had first assembled, to commence business, and the sellers to be stiff to their asking prices, ultimately became somewhat brisk, with wheat and barley at an advance of from 1s. to 2s.; beans, 2s. to 3s.; and malt 2s. per quarter; with oats, peas, rye, malt, seeds, and flour, at last Monday's quotations.

Wheat	53s. to 70s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	36s. to 40s.
— fine	—s. to —s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	36s. to 40s.
— Grey	34s. to 38s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 37s.
— Tick	35s. to 39s.
Oats, Potatoc	24s. to 26s.
— Poland	23s. to 22s.
— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new ... 125s. 0d. to 127s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 68s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... 94s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 90s. to 96s.
— Cork ... 94s. to —s.
— Limerick ... 94s. to —s.
— Waterford ... 88s. to 91s.
— Dublin ... 88s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 56s. to 64s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 58s. to 63s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 52s. to 60s.
— Edam ... 46s. to 50s.
— Gouda ... 44s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish ... 66s. to 80s.

SMITHFIELD.—January 16.

This day's supply of beasts and sheep was good, both as to quality and numbers; of fat calves and porkers, but limited, and not very prime. The trade was throughout very dull; with beef at a depression of about 2d. per stone, with mutton, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 3,018; sheep and lambs, 21,000; calves, 98; pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 20.

The arrivals this week are good; the market dull; but the prices are much the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$

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N. B. The Keepers of Commercial Inns and those who have Ordinaries on Market Days, attended by Farmers, Cornfactors, Millers, Yeomen of the County, &c., will find the "Mark-Lane Express" the best and cheapest Monday Paper they can lay upon their tables for the use of their Customers.

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